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## THE APE IN ANTIQUITY



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# THE APE IN ANTIQUITY

BY

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To  
THE MEMORY OF  
MARY COFFMAN HAY



## PREFACE

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Throughout this monograph ape has been used as a general term for all infra-human primates. The word monkey has been used for an ape with a tail, the word baboon for the hamadryas baboon. Whenever it has been desirable to be more particular other specialized names have been used, usually followed by the scientific nomenclature in which Elliot has been the guide. This subject is further discussed in the section on classification in the fourth chapter.

Previous work on the ape in classical civilization has not been voluminous. Lichtenstein's monograph in the eighteenth century is out of date, and depended wholly on the literary sources. Keller's chapters in his two monumental works on ancient animals are to some degree out of date and are quite brief. Two sub-divisions of the general subject have been treated comprehensively in recent times—Egypt by Hopfner, Etruria by Bonacelli.

The division of the subject which has received the least attention in previous publications is the occurrence of the ape in art. Hence this division has been discussed exhaustively and individual items have been collected in a catalogue which forms the second part of the monograph. In the general discussion of the first part reference has been made to the second part by the bold-faced Arabic numerals designating the items in the second part. The second part has been made as comprehensive as was possible from the publications. Unpublished items in some of the museums would lengthen the list, but probably would add little real information.

The topic was originally suggested as a subject for a dissertation by the Editor of this series, Professor David M. Robinson. It was presented as such in 1934. The present monograph represents a complete reworking of that and of additional material. I owe to Professor Robinson an overwhelming debt of gratitude for constant and generous help and encourage-

ment, and for many criticisms and suggestions. In particular besides many literary and periodical references, information on numerous items in the catalogue is due to him (particularly 19, 33, 56, 75-76, 79, 102, 118, 171, 174, 303a-b, 372, 374-375, 392, 400-401, 420, 424-426, 432, 434-435, 445, 450, 454-455, 512, 568).

I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Robert Zahn of the Antiquarium in Berlin. He has aided me very generously by giving me in correspondence material which would not otherwise have been available. I am indebted too for his valuable suggestions on several points. To him is due the photograph of an unpublished terracotta in Berlin, and permission to publish it (499, plate V, 2). Numbers 15, 63, 81, 166, 179, 185-187, 228-230, 307, 315, 324, 368, 396, 457-459, 497, 499 and 574 are due wholly or in part to his information. He has informed me that he intends to publish in *Demareteion* an article on the ape incorporating some of this material.

Photographs of four objects and permission to publish them (4-6, plate I; 316, plate III) are due to the courtesy of Dr. Alexandros Philadelphus of the National Museum in Athens. He also gave me information about 510, 541 and 542. Professor L. Kjellberg of Uppsala gave me information about and allowed me to examine photographs of 497. The photograph of 324 and permission to publish it are due to the kindness of Dr. W. Kraiker and Dr. Zahn. M. L. Poinssot, Director of Antiquities of Tunis, sent me photographs of two lamps with permission to publish them (543, 554, pl. IX). He also gave me information about 486 and 553. M. A. Merlin of the Louvre Museum gave me information about a lamp and permission to publish it (561, pl. X) and a mosaic (489, pls. VI-VII). Five objects are published with the permission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (27, 132-133, pl. I; 335, pl. IV, 2; 440, pl. V, 1). I am grateful to Professor William F. Albright of the Johns Hopkins University for information about pre-Greek material, to Dr. Adolph H. Schultz of the Johns Hopkins Medical School for help in

chapter four, to Dr. Louis S. Friedland of New York for information about the ape in English literature, and to Dr. R. Brice Harris of Cornell University for permission to examine his manuscript dissertation in the Harvard library.

The Oxford University Press has given permission for the quotation of a chapter from the Oxford translation of Aristotle (*H. A.*, II, 8-9 in chapter four), and John M. Watkins has given permission for the quotation from R. Eisler, *Orpheus the Fisher* in the discussion of a mosaic in the Louvre Museum (489). Mr. Howard S. Leach, librarian of Lehigh University, has been extremely generous in obtaining books and pamphlets for me by inter-library loan.





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## PART I

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### GENERAL ACCOUNT

*Introductory note.*—In part I the items which are catalogued in part II are referred to by means of parenthetical bold-faced numbers. The discussion of details which is given in part II is not repeated except in cases where some of these details are needed to make the statement in part I complete.



# THE APE IN ANTIQUITY

## CHAPTER I

### THE APE IN EGYPT AND THE ORIENT

A brief survey of the appearance of the ape in the earlier civilizations of Egypt and the near East is essential to the proper understanding of the ape in Greek and Roman times. This is especially true with regard to Egypt—for there the influence continued through classical times. Such information as is to be gained about the ape in Egypt from Greek and Roman writers will be treated at greater length in the third chapter. The surveys which follow are suggestive rather than exhaustive.

#### EGYPT

Egyptian art and literature are rich in references to apes for two cogent reasons—the extraordinary development of the animal cults there, and the proximity of Egypt to the native habitat of the apes in Ethiopia. In ancient times, as in modern, apes were indigenous in Mauretania, Libya and Ethiopia.<sup>1</sup> Trade and tribute brought many of them to Egypt. One part of the relief which Queen Hatshepsut (*ca.* 1501-1479)<sup>2</sup> had carved in the temple at Der el-Bahri, commemorating her expedition to the land of Punt (the Somali coast?) is the scene showing the loading of the ships to bring back the products of the land to Egypt. Two vessels are heavily loaded with myrrh trees, myrrh, ivory, wood and apes. Over the vessels, an inscription lists the items of the load,

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<sup>1</sup> Strabo, XVII, 827; Herodotus, IV, 194; Diodorus, I, 33, 4; XX, 58; etc.

<sup>2</sup> The dates and the spelling of Egyptian names usually follow *The Cambridge Ancient History*, I-III, especially I (2nd ed., 1924), pp. 661-664; II (1924), pp. 702-703; III (1925), tables IV-V at end of the volume.



and mentions both apes and monkeys.<sup>3</sup> Even more interesting are the scenes from the tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes. This man was vizier during the latter part of the reign of Thutmose III (*ca.* 1479-1447). In one of the scenes taken from his life, officials from upper Egypt are paying taxes—these taxes are listed in the inscriptions and one of the items consists of apes.<sup>4</sup> Much more striking is the elaborate quadripartite scene showing the tribute and gifts from foreign countries. So vivid is one of the scenes and so striking are the apes portrayed there that the scene should be described in detail.<sup>5</sup> An Egyptian (his skin marked by light red) drives seven head of cattle to the right and carries on his shoulder a piece of ivory on which a monkey (a) sits.<sup>6</sup> Above is a group of seven dogs. Two Egyptians are leading by leashes attached to its forelegs a giraffe to whose neck a monkey (b) clings. One Ethiopian carrying a tray with ostrich eggs and plumes leads a monkey (c) on a red leash, another carrying a pelt and ivory leads a baboon (d) on a leash, and two more precede carrying ebony, of which one carries a pelt, the other leads a leopard. An Egyptian carries ivory on his shoulder—a monkey (e) sits on the ivory. An Ethiopian carrying a tray leads another monkey (f) on a leash. Two Ethiopians and one Egyptian carry trays and pelts. At the right are piles of gifts being inspected by an Egyptian. These gifts include pelts, ostrich eggs and like objects. On a stool an ape (g) squats holding a piece of fruit in its left forepaw. The apes, vivid as is the work, are not realistic enough to be identified with full certainty, but consideration of the seven figures gives

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago, 1907), II, pp. 102-122 (especially p. 109).

<sup>4</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, p. 283, par. 718.

<sup>5</sup> This description is based on a color plate drawn by Sir J. G. Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (new edition revised by S. Birch, 3 vols., New York, 1878), I, pl. II, opp. p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> The letters in parentheses are for convenient reference in the following discussion on the identification of species.

some positive results. (a) This monkey has a blue body, red snout, red hindpaws. The head is somewhat oversize and the tail long in proportion to the body—the body from head to rump is approximately fifty centimeters; the tail, 75 centimeters long, has undoubtedly been exaggerated by the artist.<sup>7</sup> It seems fairly obvious that the blue body color here represents the yellowish-green of the green guenon (*Lasiopyga callitrichus*, Elliot 390).<sup>8</sup> The face and hindpaws of this guenon are black, and the legs grey, but the artist's license easily accounts for the more vivid coloring. The size of the body and disproportionately large head mark it as a young monkey. (b) This monkey is green with a red head and the body is outlined in red. The snout is longer, and the head is surrounded by hair which stands out in a thick band. This band reminds one of the ruff of some of the guerezas, particularly the white-throated guereza (*Colobus vellerosus*, Elliot 536)<sup>9</sup> which resembles this monkey except in color. (c) (e) (f) These three monkeys with green bodies and red markings are probably adult green guenons—however the heads in each case are gone. The first and third are standing upright, but they seem to do so with difficulty and are partially supported by leashes. The upright height is approximately one meter. (d) This baboon which walks on all fours, has a green body, a red

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<sup>7</sup> These measurements are the approximate life-size measurements based on the comparative size of the men, for whom I have assumed a height of about 1.75 m.

<sup>8</sup> D. G. Elliot, *A Review of the Primates (Monographs of the American Museum of Natural History, I-III, New York, 1913)*, II, pp. 333-334, pl. 2, 6, opposite p. 310. Throughout this monograph, the classification of Elliot is used in referring to the genus and species of any apes which can be identified or connected with the modern classification. The arabic numeral following the genus and species in the text is the species number as listed in Elliot, I, pp. xlv-lxvii (in each case in Elliot the name of the species is followed by a page reference to the discussion). This number does not always correspond to the numbers listed in the table of geographical distribution, *ibid.*, pp. lxxv-cv. Hereafter these volumes will be cited in the notes as Elliot, I, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Elliot, III, pp. 139-140, pl. 3, opp. p. 139.

snout, a red body outline and a white face. It measures about one meter from head to rump, about 65 centimeters from rump to feet, and about 75 centimeters from rump to the end of the tail. The general appearance and size mark it as a yellow baboon (*Papio cynocephalus*, Elliot 271)<sup>10</sup> rather than the hamadryas baboon or cynocephalus (*Papio hamadryas*, Elliot 275)<sup>11</sup> which is the one usually represented in Egyptian art. The white face agrees with the flesh-colored face of the yellow baboon, and the bright green in the artistic representation might well stand for the yellow tinge of the hair. (g) The animal here portrayed has the characteristics of the preceding one, except in the size and the lack of the mane which marks the adult. It is almost certainly a young example of the same species—in size it is about one-half the size of the adult, except in tail length.

We see, then that apes of several genera were known to the Egyptians through trade and tribute. By far the most common ape is the sacred cynocephalus.<sup>12</sup> On the dedication stela of Amenhotep III (*ca.* 1412-1376) the king is represented as saying to Amon-Re, "the sacred apes praise thy rising—the

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<sup>10</sup> Elliot, II, pp. 137-142.

<sup>11</sup> Elliot, II, pp. 143-146. In the text the term cynocephalus will often be used for this ape, as that is the name by which it was known in Latin and Greek authors, and is also one frequently used by Egyptologists.

<sup>12</sup> For a general account cf. Wilkinson and Birch, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 267-269. For a more detailed account cf. Th. Hopfner, "Der Tierkult der alten Aegypten nach den griechisch-romischen Berichten und den wichtigeren Denkmälern," *Denkschriften der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* (phil.-hist. Klasse, 57, 2, Wien, 1914), pp. 25-32. The latter monograph is hereafter cited as Hopfner, *Tierkult.*—Ehrenberg discussed in detail the identification of the sacred Egyptian ape, and came to the conclusion that the hamadryas baboon (*Papio hamadryas*, Elliot 275) was the only sacred ape in Egypt. Cf. Chr. G. Ehrenberg, "Ueber den *Cynocephalus* der Aegyptier," *Abhandlungen der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1833, phys. Klasse (Berlin, 1835), pp. 337-367, pls. I-IV. Some of the problems concerning the cynocephalus, with which classical authors deal, are discussed below, pp. 35-46, 66-67, 104.

sacred apes give praise to thee when thou settest in the west.”<sup>13</sup> The sacred apes of the sun-god are again mentioned in a Sun-Hymn inscribed on a door post of Harmhab (*ca.* 1346-1322) in the British Museum.<sup>14</sup> Again in the time of Osorkon I (*ca.* 925-889) we find in the record of his majesty's gifts to a temple of Re, two golden apes of Thoth (*i. e.* cynocephali).<sup>15</sup> From a magic papyrus in Paris we find that the sun-god in the tenth hour of his journey took the form of a cynocephalus.<sup>16</sup>

It is as the holy animal of Thoth that we most often hear of the cynocephalus.<sup>17</sup> To Thoth are ascribed many functions—he is the god of the moon and the scribe of the gods, with Anubis he leads the dead to the underworld, he is the god of wisdom and healing, and as a natural corollary to that he is the god of magic. The cynocephalus was supposed to have taught the sacred hieroglyphics to the god, and it wears the lunar disk of the god on its head. The animal is the emblem and representative of the deity.<sup>18</sup> As a companion of the god it drives evil souls to their punishment. On one wall-painting the souls of the dead by means of a staircase approach Osiris who is attended by the guardian of the balance—above a deity with an ax cuts off communication with the world of the living and Anubis stands in judgment, between the two is a skiff with papyrus at each end in which two cynocephali with whips stand guard over an evil soul in the

<sup>13</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.*, III, p. 370, par. 907.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 9, par. 16.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, p. 365, par. 735.

<sup>16</sup> Lines 1685-1688 in the edition of the long papyrus at Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale by K. Wessely, *Denkschriften der k. Akademie in Wien*, 36, 2 (Wien, 1888), p. 86. Cf. Hopfner, *Tierkult*, p. 30.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Pietschmann in Roscher, *Lexikon*, V (Leipzig, 1916-24), col. 841.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Pietschmann and Roeder in Roscher, *op. cit.*, cols. 825-863. E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Ideas of Future Life* (London, 1899), pp. 86-87. Wilkinson-Birch, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 162-171. A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (New York, 1897), pp. 95, 225-229.

form of a pig. These cynocephali, as agents of Thoth, are leading the evil soul back to the earth.<sup>19</sup>

The cynocephalus was certainly associated first with Thoth because of the belief that it was affected by the moon,<sup>20</sup> but in its connection with the god it seems also to have embodied the principle of balance or equanimity, and so to have been placed on the standard of scales and balances, over which Thoth presides. On the walls of the treasure chamber of the temple at Medinet Habu (in the time of Ramses III, *ca.* 1204-1172) is a pair of balances on the top of which is the ape of Thoth.<sup>21</sup> In the Harris papyrus in the British Museum one of the gifts of Ramses III mentioned is a pair of balances presented to Re at Heliopolis: "I made for thee splendid balances of electrum, the like of which had not been made since the time of the god. Thoth sat upon it as guardian of the balances, being a great and august ape of gold in beaten work."<sup>22</sup> On the funerary papyrus of Anhai in the British Museum is the scene of the weighing of the soul of the deceased. At the right Horus leads in the soul, at the left is the scale. Anubis and Thoth preside over the weighing; on the top of the main bar sits a cynocephalus of metal.<sup>23</sup> Again Thoth is the god of magic, and is addressed in magical incantations, often under the form of the cynocephalus.<sup>24</sup> The cynocephalus is mentioned in such incantations,<sup>25</sup> and the regular means of dismissing a spirit or god which has been brought by a charm is by burning the excrement of an ape.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Wilkinson and Birch, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 466-468, plate LXX. Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96, considers the pig a representation of Set, the enemy of Osiris.

<sup>20</sup> For a fuller discussion of this see below, pp. 41-45.

<sup>21</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 17, par. 33. Cf. James Baikie, *Egyptian Antiquities in the Nile Valley* (New York, 1932), pp. 448-459.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Hopfner, *Tierkult.*, p. 168, note 7.

<sup>23</sup> *Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume of Plates, I (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 126-127, a.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. F. Lexa, *La magie dans l'Égypte antique* (Paris, 1925), especially I, p. 84; II, pp. 155-157.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 40-41.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, I, pp. 73, 104, 159.

The cynocephalus may be found on certain magical or semi-magical pictures, often, however, associated with the sun-god. On a linen hypocephalus in the British Museum, six cynocephali raise up their forepaws in the adorant manner before a ram-headed god (Amon).<sup>27</sup> Two later stelae show this same magical trend in Egypt of Greco-Roman times. The Metternich stele has at the top a scene in which eight cynocephali (four ithyphallic males, and four females) adore with upraised forepaws a symbol of Amon.<sup>28</sup> On the other stele in the Museum at Geneva two cynocephali stand on each side of an aedicula, which is probably a shrine to the sun.<sup>29</sup>

An extremely interesting use of the cynocephalus occurs in one part of the elaborate preparations for burial. From the time of the eleventh dynasty, when the body of a rich man was embalmed, the viscera were removed and were placed in four canopic urns. These urns, which might be made of alabaster, wood or other materials, were covered with lids in the form of the heads of the four genii of Amenti, the children of Horus. Into the jar covered with the figure of a human head (Imseti) went the stomach and the large intestines; into the one with the figure of the head of a cynocephalus (Hapi), the small intestines; into the one with the figure of the head of a jackall (Duamûtef), the lungs and heart; and into the one with the figure of the head of a hawk (Qebhsnêwef), the liver and the gall bladder. In the case of the poorer people the viscera were replaced in the mummy and figurines of the four genii, enveloped in cloth, were placed with them.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 298-300, fig. 72. Cf. Lexa, *op. cit.*, III, pl. L (two bronze hypocephali).

<sup>28</sup> This stele which dates in the fourth century B. C. is in the Koenigswart castle near Marienbad. Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume of plates, II (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 16-17; Lexa, *op. cit.*, III, pl. XXX; Hopfner, *Tierkult.*, p. 30.

<sup>29</sup> Deonna, "Talismans du Musée de Genève," *R. A.*, XVIII (1923), p. 122, fig. 2. On the other side is a relief of Horus on the crocodiles.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Wilkinson and Birch, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 219-222, pl. XLVII; p. 268. H. Brugsch, *Die Aegyptologie* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 182-183.

As might be expected the cynocephali which were kept in the temple were often mummified. These mummies have been found in various places, especially at Thebes where one section was set aside as a cemetery for these animals. In burying the mummies are usually in a seated position, the position in which the animal is most often represented in art.<sup>31</sup>

A few miscellaneous examples of the appearance of cynocephali in the artistic remains will give a fair idea of the widespread respect for these animals. On each of two large reliefs originally on the base of the obelisk in front of the pylon of the temple of Luxor are four of them with paws and heads upraised as though greeting the sun-god.<sup>32</sup> A little blue faïence seal-ring in the British Museum shows a squatting cynocephalus which has on its head the lunar disk and crescent of Thoth.<sup>33</sup> Many Egyptian seals have cynocephali as a part of the design.<sup>34</sup> But nothing shows this so well as the large quantities of figurines of all types of material, and from all periods. The earliest come from Abydos and Hierakonpolis. Large numbers of these figurines of stone, ivory and glazed pottery came to light. Most of them probably date from the latter period of pre-dynastic Egypt, *ca.* 4000-3500. Many of these are simple squatting cynocephali with the knees drawn up and with little detail. Two examples show the seated ape holding a little one, a type which is frequent in later Egyptian and in classical art. One example of a cynocephalus walking on all fours, and another of a monkey squatting on a base and resting its forepaws on the ground are quite naturalistic and

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Baikie, *op. cit.*, p. 520. L. Speleers, *Les figurines funéraires égyptiennes* (Bruxelles, 1933), pp. 74-76, pl. 41.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Wilkinson and Birch, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 258, 268. Hopfner, *Tierkult.*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>32</sup> O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, I (Leipzig, 1909), p. 8, fig. 3 (the slab which is now in the Louvre).

<sup>33</sup> From the time of Amenhotep III (*ca.* 1412-1376). *British Museum Quarterly*, III (1928), pp. 41-42.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Fr. Matz, *Die fruehkretischen Siegel* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928), p. 31, note 3; p. 33; pl. XXII, figs. A, J, D; pl. XXIII, figs. 101-103.

foreshadow the excellence of later Egyptian animal carving. At Abydos a number of natural flints which resemble apes were found; these are quite similar to one found at Cnossus by Sir Arthur Evans (274).<sup>35</sup> The finds of ape-formed figurines are extremely numerous, as a survey of any Egyptological collection would show.<sup>36</sup>

In several places monkeys have already been mentioned. This smaller animal appears much less frequently than the cynocephalus. Although some of them have been found mummified, it is unlikely that they were held sacred, or that they were kept in the temples.<sup>37</sup> They were brought in as tribute or objects of trade, and were used as pets. One of the paintings of the mastaba of Ptah-hotep at Saqqara, end of the fifth Dynasty (*ca.* 2965-2825), is a scene of domestic life—Ptah-hotep is being dressed for the day, beneath his chair are pet dogs, and a monkey is held on a leash by an attendant.<sup>38</sup> The monkey can, with a high degree of probability, be identified with the reddish guenon which comes from British East Africa (*Lasiopyga rubella*, Elliot 396).<sup>39</sup> In a carved relief under the throne of Amenhotep II (*ca.* 1447-1420) a similar leashed monkey dances and holds a large bunch of grapes in both forepaws.<sup>40</sup> Again one pet plays a mandolin, while

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<sup>35</sup> J. Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt* (translated by A. S. Griffith, London, 1905), pp. 185-187, fig. 146 (Capart dates these figurines earlier than the presence of glazed pottery warrants). Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Abydos*, I-III (The Twenty-second and Twenty-fourth Memoirs of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, London, 1902-03), I, pl. LIII, 7-9, 11: II, pls. II, 12, IV, VI, 50-61, IX, 189-193, X, 217, etc.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. for example Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Amulets, illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College, London* (London, 1914), p. 43, nos. 204-206.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. below, pp. 35-36.

<sup>38</sup> Baikie, *op. cit.*, p. 175. Cf. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, I, p. 7.

<sup>39</sup> Elliot, II, pp. 342-343. Keller identifies it as the Patas guenon (*Erythrocebus patas*, Elliot, 440, cf. Elliot, III, pp. 6-9), but this monkey which is variegated in color comes from Senegal, and would scarcely have been brought from such a distance.

<sup>40</sup> Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 7, fig. 2.



another plays a lyre.<sup>41</sup> The monkey is often an ornament of the *kohl* jar—it either clasps, climbs up, or squats behind the jar which is in the shape of a hollowed column.<sup>42</sup> Again we see in a relief from Beni Hasan three baboons in a fig tree. Two of them are holding the fruit, about to hand or throw it to a man standing near, the third is surreptitiously eating a piece of fruit. Although the proportions of the sculpture are bad, since the man is about as tall as the tree, the details of the animals are well done.<sup>43</sup> These animals are in all probability not the sacred hamadryas baboon—the sanctity of the animal would prevent its being used for such service, and the fierceness of its nature would make it an unlikely pet.<sup>44</sup> The animal probably belongs to some such species as the yellow baboon (*Papio cynocephalus*, Elliot 271)<sup>45</sup> which is of a much more even disposition. However, in a wall-painting, in which a dwarf is playing with two baboons and an ibis, the artist surely meant to portray the cynocephalus; the conjunction with the ibis shows this—perhaps this use of the two creatures sacred to Thoth was a satiric thrust.<sup>46</sup> The figures in the illustration of a papyrus at Turin, dating from the eighth century, are pure caricature. Four animals are giving a concert—an ass plays a harp, a lion a lyre, a crocodile a lute, and a monkey a double flute.<sup>47</sup>

One class of objects should be mentioned because it clearly connects Egyptian and early Greek art. Many molded figure-vases of Egyptian manufacture are to be found not only in

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<sup>41</sup> Hopfner, *Tierkult*, p. 32.

<sup>42</sup> G. Maspero, *Manual of Egyptian Archaeology* (translated by A. S. Johns, 6th edition, New York, 1913), p. 285. Wilkinson and Birch, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 348-349, figs. 451-452.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, I, pp. 381-382, fig. 158.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Hopfner, *Tierkult*, p. 30.

<sup>45</sup> Elliot, II, pp. 137-142.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization* (translated by McClure, London, 1894), p. 299.

<sup>47</sup> J. Fleury (Champfleury), *Histoire de la caricature antique* (Paris, 1879), p. 8. Rubensohn, *Arch. Anz.*, XLIV (1929), col. 214. Giulio Farina, *La pittura Egiziana* (Milan, 1929), pl. CCV.

Egypt and in Palestine, but in the Aegean islands, especially on the island of Rhodes at Camirus and Lindos. Although these are discussed in detail later, it is appropriate to mention here a few of these finds in Egypt and in Palestine. At Byblos among the many finds in the deposits in the foundations of the Syrian temple is a group of plastic vases, among which a female cynocephalus holding a young ape to its breast, is a common subject.<sup>48</sup> The same subject is to be found in a group of statuettes.<sup>49</sup> The materials used are mainly faïence, ivory or stone. Some of the objects date as early as the 6th Dynasty (*ca.* 2825-2631), and on one of the vases we find the cartouche of Pepi II.<sup>50</sup> This type of vase becomes more widespread after 1500 under the New Empire, from which period we may date an alabastron in the shape of a cynocephalus with its forepaw to its snout from Megiddo.<sup>51</sup> A number of figure-vases from Egypt which date from later in the New Empire show the theme of an ape holding a vase, or an adult animal holding a little one.<sup>52</sup> Seventeen of these vases of faïence which come from Greek sites or show Greek influence are included in part II (353-369).<sup>53</sup>

Of particular interest is an ape-formed amulet of Egyptian manufacture found in a grave at Tell Duweir (Lachish) in Palestine.<sup>54</sup> It is one of a group of six blue-glaze amulets

<sup>48</sup> P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte* (2 vols., Paris, 1928), I, pp. 72-74, nos. 56-62; II, pls. XL, XLI, XLV.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, I, pp. 90-92, 95, 116-117, nos. 174-176, 216-217, 404-405, 408-409; II, pls. LII, LIV, LXIII.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, I, pp. 72-73, no. 56; II, pl. XL. For a discussion of the dating of the Syrian temple cf. *ibid.*, I, p. 127-130.

<sup>51</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, XXII (1907), col. 290, fig. 8.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. M. I. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques dans l'antiquité* (translated from the Russian edition, Moscow, 1916, by M. Carsow, 2 vols., Paris, 1927), I, p. 114.

<sup>53</sup> For other Egyptian figure vases in the shape of apes cf. G. A. Bénédict, *Objets de toilette, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, I (Cairo, 1911), pp. 56-58, pl. XXIV.

<sup>54</sup> J. L. Starkey, *Illustrated London News*, 189 (10/3/36), pp. 571, 573, fig. 18.

found together: a figure of Bes, a pig, a ram, a cat, a sphinx, and an ape. They date from the early part of the eighth century, from the time of Amaziah.<sup>55</sup> The ape squats on an oval base with its elbows on its knees and with its right forepaw to its chin. Its skull is rounded, and there is a hole for suspension at the back of its neck. Its legs are short in comparison with the rest of the body. The general appearance of the figurine suggests quite strongly the little Corinthian alabastra which are in the shape of squatting apes with their forepaws to their faces (442-456). The Greek potter may well have had just such a figurine before him when he made those alabastra. The difference in use and material would account for such changes as the omission of the hole for suspension, the flattening of the top of the head, and the spotted technique of the painting of the skin.

Trade with Greece and the Aegean islands, especially by way of Greco-Egyptian Naucratis, introduced such Egyptian ideas to the modellers of Ionian and Corinthian figure vases.<sup>56</sup> It is interesting to note that, as in early times Naucratis is the meeting place of Greek and Egyptian, so later Alexandria, in the same rôle, is the source of realistic works of the minor arts, in which the monkey is an occasional theme.

#### MESOPOTAMIA

Since apes were not indigenous in Mesopotamia, their presence in the art of the country indicates some exotic influence. The main source of this influence was Egypt—the close trade connections meant that specimens of the animals and more often artistic representations would be exported from Egypt to Mesopotamia as tribute, as presents, or as objects of trade. For example one of the tablets from Amarna lists gifts sent by Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton, 1380-1362) to a Babylonian king—among these was a silver ape

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<sup>55</sup> Cf. II *Chronicles*, 25, 27.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 113-115.

holding a young one in its lap.<sup>57</sup> The Mesopotamian section had some connections with India, hence there may have been some influence from that source. Classical authors had some information about the Indian apes,<sup>58</sup> but there is no definite evidence that the artistic representations of apes found in Mesopotamia (except in a later period) were meant to portray Indian animals—in all cases it is at least as likely that these are Egyptian animals.

It has already been observed that the baboon was a sacred animal in Egypt. The Hanuman monkey (*Pygathrix Entellus*, Elliot 501)<sup>59</sup> was sacred in India from a very early period.<sup>60</sup> It is not surprising then that in Mesopotamia the ape seems to have been a cult animal sacred to some god. There is not enough evidence to settle the religious meaning of the animal.<sup>61</sup> This probably accounts for the frequency with which it is represented. But it is not the only reason—here as in classical times the ape as an amusing pet found some vogue. The examples cited below show both aspects.

One of the most remarkable of the objects of art which portray the ape is a limestone slab from the excavations at Tell-Halaf.<sup>62</sup> It is one of a group of carved limestone slabs

<sup>57</sup> J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1915), p. 113, 48. In general cf. Meissner in Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, I (Berlin, 1924), p. 29, s. v. *Affe*: Hilzheimer in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I (Berlin and Leipzig, 1932), pp. 41-42, s. v. *Affe*.

<sup>58</sup> The extent of the knowledge of the Indian ape in classical times is discussed below, pp. 72-79, 106.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Elliot, III, pp. 89-90.

<sup>60</sup> W. Crooke in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, II (New York, 1913), pp. 485-486, s. v. *Bengal*.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Meissner, *loc. cit.* Dr. A. Roes notes that there is some relation to the solar deity: *Greek Geometric Art* (Haarlem and Oxford, 1933), p. 84.

<sup>62</sup> Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Der Tell-Halaf: Eine neue Kultur in ältesten Mesopotamien* (Leipzig, 1931), pp. 159-161. This work is superseded by the English edition which contains additions and revisions; *Tell-Halaf: a New Culture in Oldest Mesopotamia* (tr. by G. Wheeler, London and New York, 1933), pp. 179-182, pl. XXXVI.

found at the south front of the temple-palace.<sup>63</sup> This slab, carved in medium relief, portrays in a spirited and lifelike manner an orchestra of animals. At the left a lion is seated on a conical block in a human attitude and plays on a harp. Facing the lion, a giant ithyphallic ass stands on its hind legs and brays. Between the two are four smaller animals, behind the ass is a dog holding the tail of the ass. Above the dog is a bear holding a cymbal. In the lower right-hand corner is a pig with a drum (or cymbal), beside it is another bear holding two vessels on a stick over its shoulders. In the upper right-hand corner an ape sits like a human being. In front of it is a bowl on a stand. In front of the stand is a gazelle with a bowl. Without doubt the ape is serving drinks to the other members of the orchestra. According to Herzfeld and Oppenheim the slab dates from the beginning of the third millenium and is a work of the "Painted Pottery" period.<sup>64</sup> A smaller slab from the same group has an almost identical scene.<sup>65</sup> The same excavations yielded an ivory sceptre handle in the form of a squatting ape.<sup>66</sup>

A little gold figurine in the shape of a monkey was found in a coffin in the grave of Mes-kalam-dug at Ur. The animal squats with its forepaws on its knees; the details of the eyes, ears and hair are marked realistically. It is solid cast and was originally the head of a copper pin which is broken.<sup>67</sup> It

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Cf. also *Fuehrer durch das Tell-Halaf Museum, Berlin, Franklinstrasse 6* (Berlin, 1934), pp. 38-39, no. 44, pl. III.

<sup>63</sup> Slab no. 57 L: 1.17 by .78 m.

<sup>64</sup> E. Herzfeld in Appendix I of *Tell-Halaf* (English Edition), p. 267. Most orientalists place these carvings considerably later—cf. E. A. Speiser in a review of the English Edition of *Tell-Halaf* in *A. J. A.*, XXXVIII (1934), p. 610.

<sup>65</sup> Oppenheim, *Tell-Halaf* (English Edition), pp. 180-181; *Fuehrer*, p. 39, no. 45.

<sup>66</sup> Oppenheim, *Der Tell-Halaf*, p. 191; *Tell-Halaf* (English Edition), p. 218, pl. LIX, 4.

<sup>67</sup> *British Museum Quarterly*, III (1928), pl. XXXV, a. C. L. Woolley, "The Royal Cemetery," *Ur Excavations*, II (London, 1934), pp. 158, 300; pl. 165. It is in the Baghdad Museum no. 8279 (U. 10010)—ht. 1.6 cm.

dates early in the pre-dynastic period.<sup>68</sup> A monkey appears on a Sumerian cylinder from Ur. It squats in the field beside a hunting scene.<sup>69</sup>

At all periods in Mesopotamia from the beginning of the third millenium to the Hellenistic period figurines of various materials representing apes in various poses were fairly frequent.<sup>70</sup> These poses include most of the ones familiar to classical artists:—an old ape holding a young one, an ape holding a vase, an ape with its forepaws to its head, an ape playing a flute. In the earlier periods these figurines show some Egyptian influence, in the later, some Hellenistic influence. Mrs. Van Buren concludes that Babylonian and Assyrian figurines had some apotropaic significance.<sup>71</sup> If this is true, then the ape-figurines are apotropaea too—their grotesque or burlesque quality would make them more efficacious.<sup>72</sup> However this seems to be too broad a conclusion. It is by means certain that there is any more purpose behind many, if not all, of these figurines than the desire of the artist to portray an amusing and exotic animal. Apes appear also in seal cylinders from varying periods.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Woolley, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227.

<sup>69</sup> L. Legrain in Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 357, no. 302, pl. 204. Baghdad Museum no. 4124 (U. 9027).

<sup>70</sup> E. D. Van Buren, *Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria* (*Yale Oriental Series*, XVI, New Haven, 1930), pp. 180-182, nos. 893-907, pl. XLVIII, fig. 232—more than forty items are here listed including some terracotta reliefs; H. Frankfort, *Illustrated London News* (July 22, 1933), p. 123, fig. D (silver and lapis lazuli); E. Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, II, 3 (1931), pp. 135-136, fig. 4; Edm. Pottier, *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, XIII (1912), pl. XXXIX, nos. 2, 5, 7 (stone and alabaster).

<sup>71</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xlviii.

<sup>72</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. lv, cf. A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture* (London, 1927), pp. 70-71.

<sup>73</sup> O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, I (Leipzig, 1909), p. 9, note 5 (Babylonian cylinders); G. Conteneau, *Revue biblique*, new series, XIII (1916), p. 537 (figure); W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, 1910), p. 200, fig. 571 (the ape squats in the sacred Assyrian tree); p. 238, fig. 715 (the ape in the sacred tree); pp. 243-244, fig. 733. Cf. A. Roes, *Greek Geometric Art* (Haarlem and Oxford, 1933), p. 84.

Two reliefs show apes among the tribute (or gifts) brought by foreign people to the Assyrian kings, Asurnasirpal II (885-860 B. C.) and Salmanassar III (860-825 B. C.). The first is from the palace of Asurnasirpal at Kahlu (Nimrûd). In this relief two men are bringing gifts to the king:—on the shoulder of the second a monkey crouches with its arm over its leash, its forepaws grasping a fillet on its master's hair, a second monkey walks beside him on a leash, and looks regretfully back.<sup>74</sup> Keller considered them Hanuman langurs (*Pygathrix entellus*, Elliot 501), Hilzheimer considered them African white-collared mangabeys (*Cercocebus torquatus*, Elliot 341), but the portrayal is not realistic enough to identify the species of the ape. It is interesting that this king collected animals (including apes) and kept them as exhibits in the parks of his palace.<sup>75</sup> The second relief is the famous black obelisk of Salmanassar found at Nimrûd by Layard, in which five bands of sculpture, accompanied by inscriptions, show tribute brought to the king. In the third band the tribute from the land of the Musri includes two two-humped camels, an ox with a shaggy tail, a one-horned animal, an antelope, an elephant and five apes. On one side behind the elephant a man in Assyrian dress holds the leash of a large ape. Behind him is another man with two smaller leashed monkeys, of which one is seated on his shoulder. On the next side of the third relief two men hold the leashes of two huge apes with long tails.<sup>76</sup> The heads of all five animals are extremely

<sup>74</sup> Keller, *Thiere*, p. 10, fig. 2; P. Handcock, *Mesopotamian Archaeology* (London, 1912), pp. 22, 82; Sir E. A. T. W. Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum* (London, 1914), pl. XXVIII; A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* (New York, 1923), p. 106, fig. 59; Hilzheimer in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I (Berlin and Leipzig, 1932), p. 41. This relief is no. 19 in the Nimrûd Gallery of the British Museum.

<sup>75</sup> B. Meissner, *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, XV (1910), pp. 13-14; cf. Sir E. A. T. W. Budge and L. W. King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, I (London, 1902), pp. 189-205.

<sup>76</sup> Sir A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains* (New York, 1853), II, pp. 330-331 (with sketches of the four sides of the third relief); O. Keller, *Die Antike Tierwelt*, I (Leipzig, 1909), p. 374, fig. 130;

human, a fact which is due in part to the greater crudity of the carving on this monument. But this and the size of the first, fourth and fifth apes are inaccuracies which may be due, as Hilzheimer suggested, to the possibility that the artist had seen only skins of the animals or had merely heard of them. The second and third apes are apparently meant for the same animals which are present in the relief of Asurnasirpal. Hilzheimer identified the fourth and fifth apes as baboons; Layard considered all of them Indian apes; Olmstead called them African because he considered the elephant African. It should be noted that the fourth and fifth apes are almost as tall as the men with them and considerably larger in bulk. Their size suits only the gorilla, but the fact that they are being led on leashes, and have long tails precludes this. The inscription does no better service in settling the origin of the apes. Hilzheimer considers Musri a land to the east of Assyria but points out that it has been identified as Egypt.<sup>77</sup> This same motive is found considerably earlier in three terracotta reliefs from Ur which date about 2000 B. C. On them a man holds the leash attached to one monkey and has another squatting on his shoulder. The whole relief is quite similar to the one from the palace of Asurnasirpal.<sup>78</sup>

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Meissner, *loc. cit.*; Olmstead, *op. cit.*, fig. 77; Hilzheimer, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42, pl. 8, a-b. The obelisk is in the British Museum.

<sup>77</sup> *Loc. cit.*; cf. also E. Unger, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLV (1920), pp. 102-103, and Unger in Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, IV, 1 (Berlin, 1926), p. 115 s. v. *Fremdvoelker*.

<sup>78</sup> C. L. Woolley, "Excavations at Ur," *Antiquaries Journal*, III (1923), p. 333, fig. 6 (U. 216); Van Buren, *op. cit.*, p. xlvii, p. 180, no. 893; Woolley, *Ur Excavations*, II (London, 1934), p. 300. These reliefs are in the Baghdad Museum (U. 216, 6855, 6940). Woolley originally dated one of these reliefs (U. 216) and other reliefs found with it as late as the Babylonian or early Persian periods. Mrs. Van Buren placed them about 880 B. C., and suggested that they might have been the artist's models for the large stone relief (p. xlvi). However Woolley in his later work (where he is obviously referring to the same reliefs, although no identifying reference is given) dates them in the Larsa period (2000 B. C.).



As has been noted above, the ape is mentioned in Mesopotamian inscriptions. The meaning "ape" in these inscriptions has been established and a large number of references has been collected by Landsberger.<sup>79</sup> The earliest reference is from the time of Naram-Sin, in which apes and elephants are mentioned together as exotic animals in Babylon. The word for ape was at one time used as a pet name. The word for manlike apes was also used for a sphinx just as the Greek word σφίγγ sometimes meant "sphinx" and sometimes "ape." Again the bones of apes were used as drugs.<sup>80</sup>

#### ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND PALESTINE

Apes are not indigenous to this section, but were known at an early period.<sup>81</sup> In Asia Minor near Euyuk on the Halys river extensive relief sculpture was found near the gate of a palace—among these reliefs is one showing a monkey. The scene seems to be a sacrifice scene, but it is doubtful whether any religious significance is implied in the presence of the ape.<sup>82</sup> The ape appears on Hittite seals—on one the animal squats and holds the hand of a draped god.<sup>83</sup> The presence of the cynocephalus among Egyptian objects found at Byblos and Tell Duweir has been mentioned already.<sup>84</sup> Such Egyptian

<sup>79</sup> B. Landsberger, "Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien, etc.," *Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. classe der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, XLII, VI (1934), pp. 11, 87-89.

<sup>80</sup> In Celsus, *De medicina*, V, 18, 17, the excrement of apes is one of the ingredients for a poultice to be used for scrofulous tumors.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Peter Thomsen in Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, I (Berlin, 1924), p. 29, s. v. *Affe*.

<sup>82</sup> G. Perrot, *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie*, etc. (2 vols., Paris, 1862-72), pl. 67; L. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture* (London, 1883), p. 128.

<sup>83</sup> W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, 1910), pp. 285-286, fig. 868. For other Hittite seals cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-299, figs. 914 and 926; Hilzheimer, *loc. cit.*; Fr. Matz, *Die frühkretische Siegel* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928), p. 72, notes 12-17.

<sup>84</sup> Pp. 13-14.

objects were found also at Gezer from the third and fourth Semitic periods.<sup>85</sup>

Two references in the Old Testament show that the Hebrews of the time of Solomon received apes as objects of trade. In *Kings* there is a comment on the trade relations of Solomon, which concludes with the statement concerning the products brought from Ophir. "For Solomon had at sea a navy at Tarshish, with the navy of Hiram; once every three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks." This statement occurs also in *Chronicles*.<sup>86</sup> Professor Albright suggested several years ago that the biblical Ophir was the land of Punt (Somaliland) and that in these two passages the traditional translation "peacock" is not correct—the last word means another kind of ape.<sup>87</sup> This word *tukkîyîm* had been connected with a Tamil word, but together with the other two words it can be shown to be connected with words in contemporary Egyptian inscriptions. Both words, *qôphîm* (which has always been translated "apes") and *tukkîyîm*, have the meaning "apes."<sup>88</sup> This is all the more certain because there was no other indication that at that period peacocks were familiar in Palestine.

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<sup>85</sup> R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer* (London, 1912), II, p. 17; III, pl. CXXV, 23 a: II, p. 296, no. 26; III, pl. CC, 24: II, p. 332; III, pl. CCIX, 94: II, p. 332; III, pl. CCX, 76. Three ivory carvings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art from north Syria show strong Egyptian influence—both in technique and subject—an ape squatting and holding a vase, a carved baboon as a furniture ending, a small plaque showing a standing monkey wearing a garment and a necklace and holding a vase: M. S. Dimand, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXXII, 4 (April, 1937), p. 89, fig. 1.

<sup>86</sup> I *Kings*, 10, 22 and II *Chronicles*, 9, 21. The translation is that of the American revised version.

<sup>87</sup> W. F. Albright, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XXXVII (1920-21), pp. 144-145; cf. Albright, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VI (1920), p. 92. It seems impossible that these apes could be Barbary apes imported from the western part of the north African coast—this suggestion is made by Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 343.

<sup>88</sup> C. G. Wolf, *The Peacock in Classical Civilization* (a Johns Hopkins dissertation in ms., Baltimore, 1933), pp. 1-7 (on pp. 6-7 Professor Albright has included a long note amplifying his point of

The references to apes in Rabbinical literature were set down much later, but many of them go back to an earlier tradition.<sup>89</sup> Some of the more interesting may be noted here. When Noah tasted the first wine, the Devil sacrificed a sheep, a lion, an ape and a pig, for the drinker was first mild (as a sheep), then wild (as a lion), then foolish (as an ape), and finally disgusting (as a pig). Since apes are so like man, on sight of one the blessing on "Him who varieth his creatures" was to be said. Again a man in old age was compared to an old ape.<sup>90</sup> To see an ape in a dream was considered unlucky because of the ape's ugliness.<sup>91</sup> They were regarded as a luxury, trained to perform as servants and taught to pour water on the hands. In a comparison they were used to express a category lower than man; i. e. an ape was to Adam, as Adam was to God.<sup>92</sup> A Mohammedan tradition referred to in the *Koran* says that certain Jews in the time of David were turned into apes for breaking the Sabbath by fishing.<sup>93</sup>

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view). Wolf remarks on the possibility that *tukkiyim* might not have been originally in the text (p. 2). The Septuagint version omits a translation of the word in *Chronicles*, the *Codex Vaticanus* omits it in both places, but such a word might easily drop out. Josephus (*Antiquitates*, VIII, 7, 2) mentions "ivory, Ethiopians and apes" which may mean either that his ms. did not have *tukkiyim* or that he correctly translated both words as *πίθηκον*. In a Roman grammatical treatise (perhaps by Flavius Caper) this passage is cited in Latin for the gender of *simia* (Keil, *Grammatici latini*, V, p. 591, 7-8).

<sup>89</sup> J. Jacobs in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, I (New York and London, 1901), pp. 662-663, s. v. *Apes*. Cf. also L. Lewysohn, *Die Zoologie des Talmuds* (Frankfurt, 1858), pp. 64-68; L. Lersch, *Bonn. Jb.*, V-VI (1844), p. 310.

<sup>90</sup> Juvenal (*Sat.*, X, 192-195) reflects this same idea.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.*, II, 12 (p. 104, ed. Hercher); Achmes, *Onir.*, 280.

<sup>92</sup> Heraclitus expressed this same idea: *Fragm.*, 82-83 (98-99) in H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, I (4th ed., Berlin, 1922), p. 94. Cf. McDermott, *T. A. P. A.*, LXVI (1935), pp. 167-168, notes 12-13 (where Diels is cited incorrectly).

<sup>93</sup> Cf. E. W. Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights* (2nd ed., London, 1877), III, p. 350, note 35.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SPREAD OF THE APE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

The ape was native only on the African side of the Mediterranean, but with the spread of Eastern and Egyptian influence it became known in many sections in which it was not indigenous. As will be seen the Phoenicians played a prominent part in making this animal familiar.

#### THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

During the Minoan-Mycenean period in the Aegean basin the ape was a rarity. It was known because of contact with Egypt, but apparently never became very familiar. Three ivory seals (277-279) have handles carved in the shape of an ape; an ivory amulet (280) is in the shape of two apes back to back; the faces of two ivory seals (601-602) and of a gold seal ring (603) show apes; and two clay seal impressions (604-605) show apes. These seals, all from Crete, have no religious significance. The seal cutter under the necessity of making vast numbers of differentiated seals used any foreign designs which caught his fancy, often without considering the original meaning.<sup>1</sup> A figurine of faïence from Hagia Triada which seems to be a cynocephalus was probably made in Egypt (262), but two lapis lazuli pendants may have been made in Crete directly from Egyptian models (300-301). The presence of a naturally formed stone concretion in the form of a squatting ape in the House of the Fetish Shrine at Cnossus is probably accidental (274).<sup>2</sup>

The most beautiful representations of apes in ancient art are the blue monkeys in two Late Minoan paintings from the House of the Frescoes at Cnossus (472-473). These animals, portrayed in a wild setting, may have been drawn from life.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. particularly L. R. Farnell, *Greece and Babylon* (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 74-75.

<sup>2</sup> Similar naturally formed figurines in the shape of apes come from Abydos, cf. above, p. 11.

If so, this is evidence of a rare occasion when some wealthy man had imported monkeys or received them as gifts from Egypt. The monkeys are so naturally painted that their identification as one of the greenish guenons (probably *Lasiopyga tantalus*, Elliot 386) is certain. The only variation is that the artist has represented the greenish tinge of this monkey's hair by blue.

On the mainland the ape was even more unfamiliar than in Crete. The earliest dated object from Mycenae is a fragmentary figurine of an ape with the cartouche of Amenhotep II (ca. 1447-1420 B. C.) on its shoulder (302). A terracotta pendant in the shape of an ape was found by Schliemann at Mycenae, but is probably post-Mycenean (1). A hoard of gold jewelry found in Greece (probably at Aegina) contained four gold pendants (569-572). Part of the design consists of two squatting cynocephali with their paws to their snouts. The treasure dates between 1200 and 1000 B. C.

During the period which followed the downfall of the Minoan-Mycenean civilization Cyprus played an important part in the transmission of the Oriental influence which played so large a part in the rise of Greek civilization. As might be expected the proximity of Phoenician traders resulted in the importation into Cyprus of various objects which show Egyptian and Assyrian influence. Most striking of the finds which concern the subject at hand are two gilded silver bowls which in their relief decoration combine Egyptian and Assyrian motives (329-330). One was found at Praeneste and the other at Curium on Cyprus, but both seem to be from the same workshop, and are of Phoenician-Cypriote workmanship. Since in the main scene they may portray Cinyras, who was the legendary founder of Amathus, Curium and other cities of Cyprus, they may have been made on the island of Cyprus, or at least with Cyprus in mind as a market. This main scene shows the hunting of deer and of a gorilla. These bowls date about 700 B. C. A small grotesque figurine from Marion is considered an ape by Doctor Robert Zahn,<sup>3</sup> but it seems to

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<sup>3</sup> M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible and Homer* (London,

be a grotesque dwarf modelled after Bes, the Egyptian dwarf god, or after the Pataici, dwarf Phoenician gods.<sup>4</sup> Some examples of primitive figurines in the shape of apes were found on Cyprus (27-29, 51, 132-134, 263-264). An early, wheel-made cylix from Cyprus in New York was modelled in the shape of an ape's face (335).

The importance of Rhodes in the spread of Egyptian and Oriental influence in the Greek world is marked by the frequent use of the ape in the minor arts: faïence figurines (265-271); faïence figure vases (356-358, 369); terracotta figurines (19-26, 56, 75-76, 84-87, 169); terracotta figure vases (371-372, 374-381); a bronze figurine (184); and an ivory figurine (285). It should be noted here that, although in some cases—particularly when the material is faïence—the ape is definitely the sacred Egyptian cynocephalus (*Papio hama-dryas*, Elliot, 275), this is not always the case. When the animal is not the cynocephalus it is usually not possible to identify it closely—the lack of a tail in many cases would seem to point to the Barbary ape (*Simia sylvanus*, Elliot, 287), but that lack may be merely the artisan's carelessness. We cannot be at all sure that the artist was familiar with the

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1893), pp. 256, 407-408, pl. LXVII, 1, a-b. Another is from Ialysus—G. Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, III (Rhodes, 1929), pp. 205-206, tomb exciv, 6 (10782). The best example is an unpublished one in Berlin, of which Dr. Zahn kindly sent me a sketch (Sammlung von Gans, no. 181, Inv. 30219). It is of glass—the creature squats with its elbows on its knees and holds a piece of fruit to its mouth. It is blue except some yellow markings, and black and white used for the eyes. The head is extraordinarily large, a fact which convinces me that it cannot be an ape, although the squatting ape eating fruit is a common motive for figurines.

<sup>4</sup> For the Pataici cf. Herodotus, III, 37. This name seems to be a Phoenician variation of the Egyptian Ptah, who is associated at times with Bes. It has been plausibly suggested that *πῑθηκος* and *πῑθηξ* come from Ptah: H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* (Berlin, 1895), pp. 226-227, note 2. Cf. the faïence figure vase in Cairo which shows a cynocephalus holding a gazelle—a parody of Bes holding a gazelle (355).

actual animal, and in many cases there seems to be no desire to depict a specific species of ape. If the live animal was known to a particular artist it might have been any of the apes which geographically could be available at the time. These statements should be kept in mind in dealing with many, if not most, of the works of art in ancient times, which depict apes.

Some very crude figurines, chiefly from Tanagra and Boeotia, surely represent apes (2-18, 52-55, 64). These figurines are similar to some of those cited above from Cyprus and Rhodes. It is not within the scope of this monograph to deal with the complex problem of the origins of Greek Geometric art, but some of these figurines have recently been discussed by a Dutch scholar, Dr. Anna Roes, in an examination of that subject. Exception must be taken to some of her original and stimulating views. In tracing much of Geometric art back to proto-Elamite art she concludes that the ape was sacred in the East to the solar deity (a conclusion which is uncertain) and that in early Greek art it was probably a geometric solar emblem, as she considered the wheel, the duck and other designs. In addition these designs, brought to Greece (and Italy) by the Phoenicians, were consciously used by the Greeks as solar emblems. This theory has the merit of explaining the repetition of these emblems by the geometric artist. Dr. Roes notes that these primitive ape figurines are much more numerous than is generally supposed—she saw them in large numbers in various European museums. However mere frequency of repetition of a design is not decisive for a primitive artist—it is a well-known fact that primitive artists do not tend to vary their repertoire of subjects to the extent that sophisticated artists do. This is true whether the subjects are religious symbols or not. Further it is inconceivable that the symbolic connection of the ape with the solar deity should have left no traces on Greek mythology or Greek religion—in all other Greek and Roman art and in Greek and Roman literature there is no hint of any such connection.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Anna Roes, *De Oorsprong der geometrische Kunst* (Haarlem,

Ape figurines and figure vases from the early Greek period have been found on other sites, though nowhere so frequently as in Rhodes: for example, from Sparta, figurines of terracotta (30, 83) and bronze (233-235); from Athens, figurines of terracotta (32, 89) and bronze (232); from Delphi, a figurine of terracotta (88); from Phoenicia, a figurine of terracotta (31); from Smyrna, a figurine of terracotta (36); from Ephesus, figure-vases of faïence and terracotta (334, 408); from Aegina, figure vases of terracotta (382-384, 396); from Aetós on Ithaca, a figurine of ivory (281). Early Greek vases show familiarity with the ape. It appears on a vase from Aetós, signed by Calicleas (304); on three proto-Corinthian vases, one from Aegina (305), one from Thebes (306), and one from Paros (307); on two plaques from Pente Skouphia (308-309); on an early Attic vase (310); on the Arcesilas cylix (311); on a cylix from Sparta (312), etc. These vases show that the vase painters were more familiar with the actual animal than were the makers of figurines.

In Greece the ape is to be found in early literature. At the beginning of the seventh century Archilochus mentions it in a beast-fable.<sup>6</sup> Simonides of Amorgus uses it as a type of evil in his satire.<sup>7</sup> In the Aesopic fables the ape appears frequently—these fables are much later than the traditional sixth century date assigned to Aesop, but many of them surely represent stories from the early period.<sup>8</sup> From the sixth

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1931), *passim*, particularly p. 122 (on the ape) and pp. 140-144 (a summary of conclusions in French, which is invaluable to the American student); *Greek Geometric Art, its Symbolism and Origin* (Haarlem and Oxford, 1933), *passim*, particularly pp. 9, 45, 83-87 (on the ape). Dr. Roes has continued her work in the same field with several articles: *J. H. S.*, LIV (1934), pp. 21-25 (on the Chimaera); *J. H. S.*, LV (1935), pp. 232-235 (on the Grylli); *B. C. H.*, LIX (1935), pp. 313-328 (on a double-bodied monster).

<sup>6</sup> *Fragm.*, 89, 3-6 (Bergk, *Poetae lyriici Graeci*, II [Leipzig, 1866], p. 708).

<sup>7</sup> *Fragm.*, 7, 71-82 (Bergk, *op. cit.*, II, p. 742).

<sup>8</sup> *Fabulae Aesopicae collectae* (ed. Halm), 43-44, 183, 244, 338, 360-366. Cf. McDermott, *T. A. P. A.*, LXVI (1935), pp. 175-176.



century on the ape seems to have been quite familiar—references to later periods will be found scattered through the following chapters.

#### THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

The ape was indigenous in ancient times to the north coast of Africa in the western Mediterranean.<sup>9</sup> The specific species, present in great numbers in Mauretania, Numidia and Libya, was the Barbary ape (*Simia sylvanus*, Elliot 287). Consequently the early Phoenician settlers in this section were obviously familiar with this animal. The trading connections of the Phoenicians could easily account for familiarity with the ape in any of the nearby sections. Moreover the Greeks who settled in Italy, Sicily and southern Gaul would, of course, have the same opportunities for acquaintance with the ape which the Greeks in the eastern Mediterranean had.

In this section the appearance of the ape in Etruscan art is of primary importance, because there it became a popular motive, and was repeated many times in various kinds of objects. There are a few pieces of early Italic bronze which contain figures which seem to be apes (246-249, 565).<sup>10</sup> The figures in the case of three of these (247-249) may be crude representations of men instead of apes. In any case these bronzes seem to have some religious connection, perhaps with the festival of some early Italic god of agriculture<sup>11</sup>—despite this it seems unlikely that the ape itself had any vital connection with the religious character of the bronzes.

Before discussing the specific objects portraying the ape, it is necessary to consider the influences which operated in

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. for example Diodorus Siculus, XX, 58, 3-5. This subject is treated more fully in the third chapter.

<sup>10</sup> To these a bronze tripod from Lucera might be added: Cf. R. Garucci, *Archaeologia*, XLI (1867), pp. 275-281 and E. Petersen, *Roem. Mitt.*, VII (1897), pp. 3-26 (especially pp. 15-16).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Garucci, *loc. cit.*; Petersen, *loc. cit.*; H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan in the—British Museum* (London, 1899), pp. xlv-xlvi.

the case of this exotic animal.<sup>12</sup> Helbig considered this exotic animal figure a result of Phoenician or Carthaginian commerce. Speaking particularly of the amber figurines he attributed the invention of the motive to the Phoenicians or Carthaginians,<sup>13</sup> and considered the amber figurines as importations, a conclusion which does not necessarily follow, since in that case examples would surely have been found also in the East. Bonacelli noted that the species portrayed in these figurines and other Etruscan art is the Barbary ape (*Simia sylvanus*, Elliot 287) and that, as a consequence the place of the origin of the design was very definitely north Africa.<sup>14</sup> Moreover after an examination of the linguistic possibilities he came to the conclusion that the Etruscan word for ape, *arim*,<sup>15</sup> meant specifically the Barbary ape, and was derived from a Carthaginian word, which was also connected with the common Latin word for ape, *simia*.<sup>16</sup> That the apes represented in Etruscan art could be cynocephali is not possible.<sup>17</sup> Even where they are extremely formalized they do not resemble the sacred Egyptian animal. These figurines which were quite popular in Etruria may have had some kind of talismanic significance. Presumably among the Carthaginians they had some religious significance—in later days apes were venerated

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<sup>12</sup> The whole subject of the ape in Etruscan civilization has been admirably discussed by B. Bonacelli, "La scimmia in Etruria," *Studi Etruschi*, VI (1932), pp. 341-382, pls. XIV-XVI—(abbreviated here and in part II as Bonacelli, *Scimmia*). So complete is this account (except in some bibliographical details) that our discussion has been considerably curtailed here.

<sup>13</sup> *Bull. d' Inst.*, 1874, pp. 87-88; *Not. Scav.*, 1896, p. 17, note 1. Cf. Pigorini, *B. Pal. It.*, XXIII (1897), pp. 132-136.

<sup>14</sup> Pp. 361-369. This is valid for most of the amber figurines (289-298), but one (299) represents a monkey.

<sup>15</sup> Strabo, XIII, 626—*ἄρμος*.

<sup>16</sup> Pp. 346-359. Cf. McDermott, *T. A. P. A.*, LXVII (1936), pp. 148-149, note 6.

<sup>17</sup> They have been so designated from time to time: e. g. I. Falchi, *Vetulonia* (Florence, 1891), p. 101; Fr. von Duhn, *Italische Graebekunde*, I (Heidelberg, 1924), p. 249.

in certain north African cities.<sup>18</sup> When the Etruscans took this design into their own repertoire, it is unlikely that they gave it any religious significance. However it is possible that the ape figurines became, as Bonacelli suggested, talismans or good luck charms, although it seems more likely that the influence remained artistic and nothing more.<sup>19</sup>

It is necessary to refer again to the theory put forward by Roes that the ape in early Greek art was consciously used as a symbol of the Solar deity.<sup>20</sup> The assumption is made that when the ape appears behind a rider on the rump of a horse, as it does on two fibulae (243-244), the rider is the sun-god and the ape is his sacred animal. Moreover the appearance of the ape in a similar position in the main scene of the oenochoe from Tragliatella (318) is taken as a confirmation of this character of the rider. Hence, according to this view the troops are participating in games in honor of the solar divinity. To quote: "It remains uncertain whether the potter added the ape, because in his day some of those who partook in the games took a stuffed ape with them, in imitation of the heavenly horseman who sometimes had the ape for a companion, or whether he put in a feature of the god in honor of whom the games were held."<sup>21</sup> The conclusion reached is that this character of the rider and the ape goes back to proto-Elamite art brought to Greece and Italy by the Phoenicians. It is not the purpose of this monograph to present an analysis of Dr. Roes' general theories in this field, but with regard to the ape her theories do not seem valid. In the first place it

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<sup>18</sup> Diodorus Siculus, XX, 58, 3-5.

<sup>19</sup> Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, pp. 368-369. Milani in commenting on the amber ape from Vetulonia (289) considered it a cynocephalus, twin brother of Bes, and equated Bes with Eros, born of chaos. Hence he concluded that the ape held an important part in Etruscan cosmology—*Studi e materiali*, II (Florence, 1902), p. 91. This however is an unsound conjecture. The connection of the two is invalid, since the ape is not the sacred Egyptian ape.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. above, pp. 26-27. In note 5 the bibliography is cited—the item of most importance here is *Greek Geometric Art*, pp. 83-87.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

may be said that on a number of Etruscan fibulae the ape appears on the rump of a horse which has no rider (237-241), as it does also on the neck of a horse in a black-figured cylix from the Ceramicus at Athens (316). In the second place there is no conclusive reason why the ape need be anything more than slightly comic space-filler on the vase, and an ornament on the fibulae. Finally Bonacelli's demonstration that the ape which spread so widely in Etruria was the north African Barbary ape holds here despite the fact that this oenochoe is later than most of the objects he discussed.

Certain objects of foreign origin in this region are of interest although they do not seem to have exerted any specific artistic influence. The famous faience vase with the cartouche of Bokenranef (Bocchoris), found in a tomb at Corneto in 1895, contains Ethiopian spoils in one scene—negro prisoners and monkeys. This vase which is probably of Phoenician manufacture (although the design is Egyptian) is important for furnishing a vitally important date in Etruscan chronology (327).<sup>22</sup> However no imitations of this Egyptian design are found in contemporary Etruscan art. A flask from Polledrara (near Vulci) with its handles ending in apes' heads, is of Egyptian manufacture (328). Another is a gilded silver bowl of Phoenician-Cypriote workmanship found at Praeneste, which portrays the hunt of an anthropoid ape (329).<sup>23</sup> A faience figure vase from Caere in the shape of a cynocephalus holding a vase is like other examples of Egyptian manufacture found farther east (362). Four gems found at Tharrus on Sardinia, although they may have been cut by Greek artists, have that type of adapted Egyptian scene often found in Phoenician work (581-584). Six bronze figurines from Sardinia, which represent men with apes' heads, are probably of later Carthaginian or Phoenician workmanship (189-194).

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<sup>22</sup> Three bronze fibulae in the shape of a horse with an ape squatting on its rump are from this same tomb (237-239).

<sup>23</sup> This bowl and a similar one from Curium (330) are discussed above, p. 24.

A brief survey of the items of Etruscan manufacture included in part II will be instructive in showing the extensive use of the design. It is quite probable that there are many unpublished objects in Italian museums which would enlarge this list considerably. The following figurines are Etruscan; terracotta (108); bronze (178-182); ivory (282-284); amber (289-299); and glass (303). Three vase attachments represent apes squatting with their forepaws to their snouts—the most frequent attitude (212-214); two show them climbing (230-231); the rest show merely the heads (215-229). On three fibulae the apes squat on the arc (236, 242, 286); on five they squat on the rump of a riderless horse (237-241); on two they squat on the rump of a horse which carries a rider (243-244); on the last the animal is a monkey and its body forms the fibula (245). Twelve Etruscan bronzes, of which ten are probably bits, have apes or apes' heads crudely done as part of the ornamentation (250-261). A silver buckle from Marsiliana d'Albegna (572), a gold relief from Etruria (574) and two silver reliefs from Vetulonia (575-576) show the formalized ape squatting with its forepaws to its snout. The stamped design on a clay sherd and a clay vase in Bologna show the same design (331-332). The oenochoe from Tragliatella discussed above shows the ape squatting on the rump of a horse which carries a rider (318). A clay cyathus of Etruscan bucchero ware shows a squatting monkey holding a piece of fruit in each forepaw (336).

The two Etruscan tomb paintings which contain apes are later in date than most of the preceding material, hence any evidence about them must be considered separately.<sup>24</sup> In one of the panels in the Tomba della Scimmia near Clusium (Chiusi) an ape sits chained to a stump watching the funeral games (474). On the end of a partition wall in the Tomba Golini at Orvieto an ape is climbing a pole, on top of which is a vase. Its left hindpaw is fastened to a red cord, which is held by a man portrayed in a part of the painting which is

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. particularly Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, pp. 373-376.

not preserved (475). The former tomb dates about 450 B. C., the latter about 400. Both animals are very naturally portrayed, and are surely Barbary apes. Their place in the pictures and their attitudes mark them as pets. It seems logical to suppose that the painter used as his models real apes, which actually had been the pets of those for whom the tombs were made.

It is of interest to note that the most common attitude of the animal was in a squatting position with its elbows on its knees and both forepaws to its snout. This attitude was often formalized to such an extent that most of the details are missing, but it shows originally an observation of the natural details which indicates knowledge of the actual animal itself or of a good representation of it. However frequent as this pose is, it is not the only one used. Other examples show these apes with their forepaws on their knees or standing.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to the objects discussed so far Etruscan sites have yielded a large number of Greek vases which portray the ape. The Arcesilas cylix from Vulci (311), two Caeretan hydriae (313-314) and a toy red-figured oenochoe (319) are examples. However the small ape-formed alabastra for perfume far outnumber the examples of painted vases. These figure vases were exported to Etruria in large numbers, and imitations of them were made in Etruria either by native potters or by imported Greek artisans. Often it is extremely difficult to tell whether a particular vase was made in Greece or in Etruria. Some of the proto-Corinthian alabastra found on Etruscan sites are definitely Greek (e. g. 416).<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> The art objects listed can be re-classified according to posture: squatting with forepaws to snout (108, 181-182, 212-214, 236-244, 282, 289-298, 573-574); squatting (178-179, 251, 253-256, 286, 318, 331-332); head only (215-229, 250, 257-258); standing (180, 252, 259-261, 303); miscellaneous (230-231, 283-284, 474-475). Finally three should be listed separately as portraying the Ethiopian monkey rather than the Barbary ape (245, 299, 336).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the introductory remarks on section B of part II, chapter II. These vases may portray some Ethiopian monkey—the lack of

How early the Romans became familiar with apes is somewhat difficult to determine. But early Etruscan, Greek and Carthaginian influence probably acquainted them with them at an early date. The earliest references in Latin literature are found in Plautus and Ennius.<sup>27</sup> These references imply a familiarity with the animal as a pet, as an omen in dreams, and as an example of ugliness and mischief. To be sure some of the references may be mere translations from Greek sources. From this time on through the classical period the Romans were familiar with various species of the animal. In the republican times it was not much used in art, but in Empire times it appears fairly frequently on lamps, mosaics and in Gallo-Roman figurines.

tail would be artistic license. Bonacelli (*Scimmia*, p. 380) admitted this, but thought that they too might be Barbary apes.

<sup>27</sup> Plautus, *Moricator*, 229-251, 268-276; *Miles gloriosus*, 161-162, 178-180, 260-261, 284-285, 504-505, 989; *Mostellaria*, 886 b; *Poenulus*, 1072-1074; *Rudens*, 598-610, 771-773; *Truculentus*, 269, 477: Ennius, *Fragm. Sat.*, IX (line 69) (ed. Vahlen, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1928, p. 211). Cf. McDermott, *T. A. P. A.*, LXVII (1936), pp. 149-152.

## CHAPTER III

### GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE APE

Classical authors give a large body of information about apes which can be best presented by making a semi-geographical division of topics. Certain of these sections overlap. Much of the material in this chapter might have been reserved for the next chapter—where this is so, cross references are given in the appropriate place in the following chapter. Warning must be given that classification of ancient references in accordance with modern zoological distinctions involves some guesswork, which it is hoped is not extreme.

#### EGYPT—LITERARY SOURCES

The Greeks and Romans were early aware of the familiarity with the ape in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> The fact that the baboon was sacred was less well-known than might be expected. It is fairly certain that the only sacred ape in Egypt was the dog-headed baboon (*Papio hamadryas*, Elliot 275). Ehrenberg seems to have conclusively demonstrated this. In classical sources it is often hard to determine whether the specific author was aware of this. The assumption that the monkey also was sacred has been based in the main on three facts. Mummies of monkeys have been found as well as those of baboons.<sup>2</sup> However this does not necessarily prove that they were sacred—it proves only that they were cherished. In the second place Strabo definitely said that the *κῆβος* was sacred at Egyptian Babylon.<sup>3</sup> But Strabo may have used the word which ordi-

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<sup>1</sup> In general cf. the works of Ehrenberg, Wilkinson and Birch, and Hopfner cited above, p. 6, note 12: and Keller, *Thiere*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson and Birch, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 268-269; Hopfner, *Tierkult.*, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> XVII, 812. Hopfner, *loc. cit.*, suggests that they were probably not held sacred in the temples, but merely at times in homes. Keller (*Thiere*, pp. 11-12) considers them yellow baboons (*Papio cynocephalus*, Elliot 271).



narily designates the Ethiopian monkey <sup>4</sup> and is about synonymous with *κερκοπίθηκος*, for the baboon, or more probably he is mistaken, as classical authors so often were about the fine points of Egyptian religion. In the third place Juvenal speaks of the holy Egyptian ape as *cercopithecus*.<sup>5</sup> Here it need not be assumed that the author was mistaken—he may have been using the word as a synonym for *cynocephalus*, because the succession of short syllables in the latter word cannot stand in hexameter verse.

In many cases, particularly during the time of the Roman Empire, the authors seemed to care little what word was used to designate the sacred baboon. Lucian in mocking the animals in Egyptian religion uses the word *πίθηκος*,<sup>6</sup> which means "ape" in general, or specifically the Barbary ape.<sup>7</sup> Iohannes Lydus comments on the connection with the moon of the baboon and the ibis, which were both sacred to Thoth, but he calls the baboon by the name *κέρκωψ*,<sup>8</sup> which when used for an ape usually meant a monkey. Various Christian authors savagely attack the folly or the superstition of the Egyptians for the worship of this animal. In general they use the words *πίθηκος* or *simia*,<sup>9</sup> instead of *κυνοκέφαλος* or *cynocephalus*. The

<sup>4</sup> E. g. Aristotle, *H. A.*, II, 8-9; Agatharchides, *De mari Erythraeo*, 73-75 (*Geographi Graeci minores*, ed. Mueller, I, Paris, 1855, pp. 159-160); Diodorus Siculus, III, 35, 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Sat.*, XV, 4; cf. McDermott, *T. A. P. A.*, LXVII (1936), pp. 154-155, note 41. The correct application of this passage was suggested by Giovanni Battista Passeri, *Lucernae fictiles Musei Passerii*, III (Pisaurum, 1751), p. 115.

<sup>6</sup> *Sacrificium*, 14; *Iuppiter tragoedus*, 42.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *H. A.*, II, 8.

<sup>8</sup> *De mensibus*, III, 11; IV, 76.

<sup>9</sup> Aristides, *Apol.*, 12 (the lost Greek text was restored by means of a Syriac version and a quotation in the *Barlaam et Ioasaph*, XVII, 250 of S. Iohannes Damascenus, cf. E. Henneke, *Die Apologie des Aristides*, Leipzig, 1893); Iohannes Chrysostomus, *De statu*s (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XXXIX, col. 115); Origenes, *Contra Celsum*, III, 17, 21; VI, 80 (Migne, *op. cit.*, XI, cols. 940, 944, 1419); Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum*, II, 863-869 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*,

most striking of these passages comes in two descriptions of the anti-pagan riots in Alexandria in 391 A. D. The Christians, led by Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, destroyed the Serapeum and other pagan temples and drove out, among other pagans, the grammarian, Ammonius, who was a priest of the ape (i. e. of Thoth). Theophilus preserved a statue of the ape (probably Thoth as a cynocephalus) to show the kind of object which the pagans revered.<sup>10</sup> In one passage Origenes uses the proper word *κυνοκέφαλος*,<sup>11</sup> and Cyprian *cynocephalus*,<sup>12</sup> but in late authors the words usually refer to Anubis,<sup>13</sup> incorrectly since he is jackall-headed. When Lucian tells of a slave who stole some silver cynocephali from a temple of Anubis, he probably was confusing Anubis and Thoth.<sup>14</sup>

Information about the cynocephalus was current from the fifth century in Greece and probably earlier. However the first definite statement that the animal was holy in Egypt is the passage already cited from Strabo which says that the *κυνοκέφαλος* was holy at Hermopolis and the *κῆβος* at Babylon, near Memphis.<sup>15</sup> As has been said the second name of the animal is either an error, or is used as a synonym of the first. The passage does not mean that the cynocephalus was not

LX, cols. 248-249), *Peristephanon*, X, 256 (*ibid.*, cols. 467-468); Rufinus, *Historia monachorum*, VII, 148 (Migne, *op. cit.*, XXI).

<sup>10</sup> Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V, 16 (Th. Hopfner, *Fontes historiae religionis Aegyptiacae*, Bonn, 1922-25, p. 658); repeated by Cassiodorus, *Historia tripartita*, IX, 27 (Hopfner, *op. cit.*, pp. 721-722). Cf. F. H. Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose* (Oxford, 1935), p. 408.

<sup>11</sup> *Contra Celsum*, V, 5 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XI, col. 1261).

<sup>12</sup> *Ad Demetrianum*, 12 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, IV).

<sup>13</sup> S. Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*, II, 14; III, 12; Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, XXIII, 1; Servius, *Ad Aen.*, VI, 698. Tertullian may refer to Anubis, but more probably is thinking of the Devil: *Scorpiace adversus gnosticos*, I (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, II). Cf. Hopfner, *Tierkult*, pp. 26, 30.

<sup>14</sup> *Towaris*, 28.

<sup>15</sup> XVII, 812.

sacred elsewhere in Egypt, merely that these were important centers of worship.

The size and fierceness of the animal were known to Aristophanes when Paphlagon (Cleon) likens himself to a fierce cynocephalus.<sup>16</sup> It was in general not suitable as a pet—although a disreputable acquaintance of Cicero, P. Veditius, did keep one as a pet—to the orator's disgust.<sup>17</sup> Plato mentions the baboon,<sup>18</sup> and Aristotle divided apes into three groups: *πίθηκοι*, Barbary apes; *κῆβοι*, monkeys; *κυνοκέφαλοι*, dog-headed baboons. The description of the three groups is lumped together, but it is noted that the last group is larger, stronger, and fiercer, and that its teeth and snout are dog-like.<sup>19</sup> Agatharchides describes the animal, and notes that it is too fierce to be tractable to training.<sup>20</sup> This is not strictly true—some of these animals seem to have been taught the tricks which were more commonly taught to more docile apes. Josephus was aware that the cynocephalus was holy in Egypt as early as the time of Amenhotep.<sup>21</sup> Pliny the Elder in his discussion of apes does not distinguish the baboons from other apes with tails except by commenting on their ferocity. He says that those apes which have tails are affected by the phases of the moon, reflecting the Egyptian connection of the baboon and the moon, but he gives no indication of knowledge that they were sacred.<sup>22</sup> In another passage he mentions a charm against poison—an amethyst inscribed with the name

<sup>16</sup> *Equites*, 415-416, cf. scholiast *a. h. l.* and Suidas, *Lex.*, s. v. *κυνοκέφαλος*.

<sup>17</sup> *Ad Atticum*, VI, 1, 25.

<sup>18</sup> *Theaetetus*, 161C, 166C.

<sup>19</sup> *H. A.*, II, 8-9. This passage is discussed in more detail below, pp. 88-92.

<sup>20</sup> *De mari Erythraeo*, 73-75 (*Geographi Graeci minores*, ed. Mueller, I, Paris, 1855, pp. 159-160). This account is closely copied by Diodorus Siculus, III, 35, 5.

<sup>21</sup> *Contra Apionem*, I, 28, 254. Four rulers of this name in the eighteenth dynasty date approximately between 1558 and 1360 B. C.

<sup>22</sup> *H. N.*, VIII, 215-216; cf. Solinus, 27, 56-60, and Isidorus, *Etymol.*, XII, 2, 31.

of the sun and the moon is hung around the neck together with the hair of a cynocephalus and the feathers of a swallow—which has an eastern source (*vanitas magorum*) and may reflect the Egyptian reverence of the cynocephalus.<sup>23</sup> Plutarch in his essay *De Iside et Osiride* has a long discussion of the sacred Egyptian animals, and includes a statement that the cynocephalus is sacred.<sup>24</sup> Artemidorus Daldianus says that in dreams the baboon, like the ape, marks a crafty man, but also signifies “the sacred disease” which is connected with the moon.<sup>25</sup> This disease is probably epilepsy.<sup>26</sup> Artemidorus uses the name Selene in this passage, but that is not evidence, as Roscher thought, that the cynocephalus was sacred to Selene.<sup>27</sup> Selene in this passage is used as an equivalent of Thoth.

Galen, when dissecting apes in the study of anatomy, preferred to use the Barbary ape, but was willing to use the baboon, and knew it well.<sup>28</sup> Aelian gives a great deal of information about the cynocephalus, but does not mention its sacred character.<sup>29</sup> According to him they could shell nuts, were fond of wine and well-cooked meat; very young ones could be suckled by women;<sup>30</sup> older males were dangerous because they were extremely lascivious and would attack women. These items are quite plausible. The ordinary food of these animals is fruit or nuts, but they are really omnivorous. Brehm mentions the drinking of wine by apes, the

<sup>23</sup> *H. N.*, XXXVII, 124; cf. *H. N.*, XXVII, 117.

<sup>24</sup> *Moralia*, 379D-381D (*De Iside et Osiride*, 71-75): the baboon is mentioned *Moralia*, 380E (*De Iside et Osiride*, 73).

<sup>25</sup> *Onir.*, II, 12 (ed. Hercher, Leipzig, 1864, p. 104).

<sup>26</sup> Hippocrates wrote on epilepsy, but denied its sacred character (*De morbo sacro*, Foësius, III, pp. 84-94).

<sup>27</sup> W. H. Roscher, *Ueber Selene und Verwandtes* (Leipzig, 1890), pp. 106-107.

<sup>28</sup> *De anat. adm.*, I, 2 (ed. Kuehn, II, p. 222); IV, 3 (K. II, pp. 429-430); VI, 1 (K. II, pp. 534-535).

<sup>29</sup> *N. A.*, VI, 10; VII, 19; X, 30.

<sup>30</sup> Elliot in speaking of the American spider monkey says that Indian women often suckle the young monkeys: II, p. 29.

gentleness of the young cynocephalus, and the unrestrained license of old males.<sup>31</sup> In the same passages Aelian goes on to say that they could be dressed, could learn letters, dancing, playing the flute and harp, and could be taught to carry money in a bag like a beggar. These items have been questioned because of the animal's ferocity, but barring the learning of letters the other accomplishments seem possible, if young and gentle animals were chosen. Brehm says that females have been used as trained attendants by wandering entertainers in modern Cairo.<sup>32</sup> In ancient times other, more tractable species would be so trained outside of Egypt where the cynocephalus was honored and was present in large numbers. Iamblichus states the belief in the connection of the cynocephalus with the moon only to deny it.<sup>33</sup> A fanciful idea is given by Damascius who said that the ape emits semen at the conjunction of the sun and the moon—he used the word κῆβος but probably meant the cynocephalus.<sup>34</sup> The bishop Isidorus mentions the cynocephalus in speaking of the kinds of apes.<sup>35</sup>

The most elaborate account of this animal is to be found in the *Hieroglyphica* which is accredited to Horapollon Nilous. Whether it was written by the grammarian Horapollon or not is quite uncertain. It probably was written in the late fourth or early fifth century in Coptic and some time later translated into Greek. The author seems to have had a list of symbols before him and to have understood them, but probably had no body of inscriptions at hand, and could not read earlier inscriptions.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Tierleben*, IV<sup>4</sup>, pp. 416, 574.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 574.

<sup>33</sup> *De mysteriis*, 5, 8.

<sup>34</sup> *Vita Isidori*, 101 (excerpted by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 242: Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CIII, cols. 1275-1276).

<sup>35</sup> *Etymol.*, XII, 2, 32.

<sup>36</sup> G. Roeder in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, VIII (Leipzig, 1913), cols. 2313-2319, s. v. *Horapollon*. Cf. also *Horapollinis Hieroglyphica graece et latine*, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1727, ed. J. C.

The first book contains three chapters on the use of the cynocephalus in hieroglyphics. There is little doubt that, although some of the details are garbled, much of this information was that current for centuries in Egypt. It is not the province of the present work to determine the relation of the information to the Egyptian language. These chapters throw so much light on the animal in Egypt and the type of information probably available in classical times about it that they are worth quoting and translating.<sup>87</sup>

14. σελήνην δὲ γράφοντες ἡ οἰκουμένην ἡ γράμματα ἡ ἱερέα ἡ ὄργην ἡ κόλυμβον κυνοκέφαλον ζωγραφοῦσιν. σελήνην μὲν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο συμπάθειαν τινὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σύνοδον ἐκτῆσατο· ὅταν γὰρ ἐν τῷ μέρει τῆς ὥρας ἡ σελήνη συνοδεύουσα ἡλίῳ ἀφώτιστος γένηται, τότε ὁ μὲν ἄρσην κυνοκέφαλος οὐ βλέπει οὐδὲ ἐσθίει, ἄχθεται δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν νενεκῶς, καθάπερ πενθῶν τὴν τῆς σελήνης ἀρπαγὴν, ἡ δὲ θήλεια μετὰ τοῦ μὴ ὁρᾶν καὶ ταῦτα τῷ ἄρρενι πάσχειν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως αἰμάσσεται· διὸ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τρέφονται κυνοκέφαλοι, ὅπως ἐξ αὐτῶν γινώσκεται τὸ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης μέρος τῆς συνόδου· οἰκουμένην δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐβδομήκοντα δύο χώρας τὰς ἀρχαίας φασὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης εἶναι· τούτους δὲ τοὺς τρεφομένους ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνοντας οὐ, καθάπερ τὰ λοιπὰ ζῶα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ τελευτᾷ, οὕτω καὶ τούτους, ἀλλὰ μέρος αὐτῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν νεκρούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων θάπτεσθαι, τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἐν τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ὄντος, ἕως δ' ἂν αἱ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ δύο πληρωθῶσιν ἡμέραι· τότε ὅλως ἀποθνήσκει. γράμματα δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐστὶ συγγένεια κυνοκεφάλων Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπισταμένων γράμματα, παρ' ὃ εἰς ἱερὸν ἐπειδὰν πρῶτα κομισθῇ κυνοκέφαλος, δέλτον αὐτῷ

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de Pauw (with the notes of Mercerus, Hoescheliuss and Caussinuss) ; *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, Amsterdam, 1835, ed. Conrad Leemans; *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollon Nilous*, London, 1840, tr. by A. T. Cory; S. Lauth, "Horapollon," *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Muenchen*, 1876, pp. 57-115. The best and most available text of the sections of interest for Egyptian religion is in Th. Hopfner, *Fontes historiae religionis Aegyptiacae*, part 4, Bonn, 1924.

<sup>87</sup> I, 14-16. The text is from Hopfner, *op. cit.*, part 4, pp. 581-583. The parenthetical letters in the translation refer to notes which follow it.

παρατίθηναι ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ σχοινίον καὶ μέλαν πειράζων, εἰ ἐκ τῆς ἐπισταμένης ἐστί συγγενείας γράμματα καὶ εἰ γράφει. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ζῶον ἐπὶ Ἑρμῇ ἐνεμήθη τῷ πάντων μετέχοντι γραμμάτων· ἱερέα δέ, ὅτι φύσει ὁ κυνοκέφαλος ἰχθύν οὐκ ἐσθίει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἰχθυώμενον ἄρτον καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς· [ἐκτός] γεννᾶται τε περιτετμημένος, ἦν καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν περιτομήν· ὀργὴν δέ, ἐπεὶ περ τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα θυμικώτατόν τε καὶ ὀργίλον ὑπάρχει· κόλυμβον δέ, διότι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ζῶα κολύμβῳ χρώμενα ῥυπαρὰ φαίνεται, μόνον δὲ τοῦτο, εἰς ὃν τόπον προήρηται πορευθῆναι, κολυμβᾷ κατὰ μηδὲν τῷ ῥύπτῳ παραφερόμενον.

15. σελήνης δὲ ἀνατολὴν γράφειν βουλόμενοι πάλιν κυνοκέφαλον ζωγραφοῦσιν σχήματι τοιῷδε· ἐστῶτα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐπαίροντα, βασιλείον τε ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα· τοῦτο γράφουσι τὸ σχῆμα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ὁ κυνοκέφαλος ποιεῖται ὡς εἰπείν προσευχόμενος τῇ θεῷ, ἐπειδὴ ἀμφότεροι φωτὸς μετελιήφασιν.

16. ἰσημερίας δύο πάλιν σημαίνοντες κυνοκέφαλον καθήμενον ζωγραφοῦσι ζῶον· ἐν ταῖς δυσὶ γὰρ ἰσημερίαις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ δωδεκάκις τῆς ἡμέρας καθ' ἑκάστην ὥραν οὖρεῖ, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ταῖς δυσὶ νυξὶ ποιεῖ· διόπερ οὐκ ἀλόγως ἐν τοῖς ὑδρολόγοις αὐτῶν Αἰγύπτιοι κυνοκέφαλον καθήμενον γράφουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μορίου αὐτοῦ ὕδωρ ἐπιρρέον ποιοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ ὥσπερ προεῖπον, τὰς τῆς ἰσημερίας δώδεκα σημαίνει ὥρας· ἵνα δὲ μὴ εὐρύτερον τὸ [ὑδωρ\*] κατασκευάσμεν[τα] ὑπάρχει, δι' οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὸ ὠρολόγιον ἀποκρίνεται, μηδὲ πάλιν στενότερον—ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ χρεῖα, τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὐρύτερον ταχέως ἐκφέρων τὸ ὕδωρ οὐχ ὑγιῶς τὴν ἀναμέτρησιν τῆς ὥρας ἀποτελεῖ, τὸ δὲ στενότερον κατ' ὀλίγον καὶ βραδέως ἀπολύον τὸν κρουνόν—ἕως τῆς οὐρᾶς τρίχα διείραντες, πρὸς τὸ ταύτης πάχος σίδηρον κατασκευάζουσιν πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην χρεῖαν· τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀρέσκει ποιεῖν οὐκ ἄνευ λόγου τινὸς ὡς καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ἰσημερίαις μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ζῶων δωδεκάκις τῆς ἡμέρας κράζει καθ' ἑκάστην ὥραν.

14. When they portray the moon, or the habitable world, or letters, or a priest, or wrath, or swimming, they paint a cynocephalus. The moon, since this animal has a certain sympathy at its conjunction with the god (a). At that time of the hour when the moon joining the sun becomes dark, then the male cynocephalus neither looks up nor eats; but is

bowed down to the ground in grief, just as through sorrowing at the seizure of the moon (b). The female cynocephalus in addition to not looking up and suffering the same things as the male, also bleeds from the private parts (c). For this reason even now cynocephali are fed in the temples so that from them the time of the conjunction of the sun and the moon may be ascertained. The habitable world, since they say that there are seventy-two original sections in the habitable world. These animals, nourished and carefully tended in the temples, do not die in a single day as the rest of the animals do, but part of them dying each day, is buried by the priests, the rest of the body remains in its natural state, until the seventy-two days are completed, then they die completely (d). Letters (e), since there is a race of cynocephali in Egypt which understands letters, wherefore when first a cynocephalus is led into the temple, a priest places before it a writing-tablet, and a reed pen and ink, to find out if it is from that race which knows letters, and if it writes. Then too the animal is dedicated to Hermes (Thoth) who is the patron of all letters (f). A priest, since by nature a cynocephalus does not eat fish, nor fish-bread, like the priests (g). They are born circumcised, which circumcision the priests also practice (h). Wrath, since this animal beyond others becomes wrathful and angry. Swimming, since other animals defiled by swimming appear dirty, and this one alone gets to the place, it has decided upon, and swims without being affected by dirt (i).

15. Wishing to portray the rising of the moon, again they paint the cynocephalus, in such a form; standing and raising its hands to the heavens, with the royal crown on its head. They portray this form at the rising of the moon; the cynocephalus, so to speak, is congratulating the goddess; since both have a share in the light (j).

16. To show the two equinoxes, again, they paint the cynocephalus seated (k). For at the two equinoxes of the year twelve times a day at each hour it urinates; and it does



this same thing during the two nights (l). Wherefore not without reason do the Egyptians carve on their water-clocks a seated cynocephalus, from whose phallus water flows, since as I said, it thus marks the twelve hours of the equinox. It is necessary that the device through which the water flows into the horologium be neither too wide nor too narrow. There is need for both precautions, for if it is too wide, the water pours forth quickly, not marking correctly the length of the hour, but if too narrow, little by little it slowly impedes the flow. Hence they force a hair through the phallus, and according to its thickness fashion an iron pipe as is necessary (m). And it seems to them not without reason do they do this as they do other things, since in addition at the equinoxes this one alone of all the beasts cries out at each hour twelve times a day.

Parts of this passage are explained by the earlier discussion on the cynocephalus, but certain passages need further exegesis. (a) It has been noted in modern times that this animal seems to be affected somewhat by the phases of the moon.<sup>38</sup> (b) Hopfner thought that this item may have affected the passage in the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles in which Silenus says that the satyrs are stooping like apes, but in view of the general lack of specific knowledge of the cynocephalus in early Greek times it is better to refer this to the stooping posture seen in any species of ape.<sup>39</sup> (c) This statement must refer to menstruation which has often been noted by biologists in non-human primates.<sup>40</sup> (d) That the Egyptians divided the heavens into seventy-two parts is attested by Iamblichus.<sup>41</sup> Thoth was the god of astronomy and the ape

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Hopfner, *Tierkult*, p. 26.

<sup>39</sup> *Ichneutae*, 122 (leaf V, 17). Hopfner, *loc. cit.*, cf. McDermott, *T. A. P. A.*, LXVI (1935), pp. 173-174, notes 53-54. Walton suggests that the chorus in this play may have been dressed as dogs:—*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLVI (1935), pp. 167-170.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. R. M. and A. W. Yerkes, *The Great Apes* (New Haven, 1929), pp. 543, 567, etc.

<sup>41</sup> *De mysteriis*, 8, 3; cf. Hopfner, *Tierkult*, p. 28.

might have been connected because of its connection with Thoth. The absurd idea that the ape dies part by part has an easy explanation. The Rhind papyrus, a demotic text of Augustan times, gives an account of the cult of the dead which specifies seventy days for embalming and two days for the actual funeral.<sup>42</sup> Hence Horapollon's story has a real basis—the priests did not consider the ape really dead until the funeral was completed.<sup>43</sup> (e) The text *γράμματα* probably should be amended to *γραμματεία*, as suggested by Hopfner in his textual note and by Leemans. Thoth was the scribe of the gods, and the cynocephalus often represented him in this capacity. (f) Aelian said that cynocephali could be taught letters.<sup>44</sup> (g) Hatred of fish, which were connected with Typhon and unclean, was universal with Egyptian priests.<sup>45</sup> The natural diet of the animal would not include fish. (h) Circumcision originated in Egypt, but in classical times was probably confined almost wholly to the priests. The appearance of the cynocephalus confirms this comparison.<sup>46</sup> (i) Apes have not ordinarily been considered good swimmers—but in the case of two species at least Elliot notes that this is not true.<sup>47</sup> However many other animals are more noted for their ability to swim than apes. (j) The most probable explanation of this idea is that the Egyptians observed herds of cynocephali at the rising of the moon and mistook their excitement for some sort of mystic communion.

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<sup>42</sup> Translated in H. Brugsch, *Die Aegyptologie* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 189-195. A demotic text from 79 B. C. allows ninety-six days (66 for embalming, 4 for preparation of the funeral, and 26 for the funeral): Brugsch, *Zeitschrift fuer Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, XXIV (1886), pp. 25-26.

<sup>43</sup> This idea is put forward by Hopfner, *Tierkult*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>44</sup> *N. A.*, VI, 10. Cf. Hopfner, *Tierkult*, p. 29.

<sup>45</sup> E. g., Plutarch, *Moralia*, 353D, 363F, 729A. Cf. Hopfner, *Tierkult*, p. 28.

<sup>46</sup> Hopfner, *loc. cit.*; Leemans, *op. cit.*, p. 204. For circumcision among the Egyptians cf. Strabo, XVI, 776; XVII, 824.

<sup>47</sup> II, p. 232 (the crab-eating macaque); III, p. 113 (the proboscis monkey).

this same thing during the two nights (l). Wherefore not without reason do the Egyptians carve on their water-clocks a seated cynocephalus, from whose phallus water flows, since as I said, it thus marks the twelve hours of the equinox. It is necessary that the device through which the water flows into the horologium be neither too wide nor too narrow. There is need for both precautions, for if it is too wide, the water pours forth quickly, not marking correctly the length of the hour, but if too narrow, little by little it slowly impedes the flow. Hence they force a hair through the phallus, and according to its thickness fashion an iron pipe as is necessary (m). And it seems to them not without reason do they do this as they do other things, since in addition at the equinoxes this one alone of all the beasts cries out at each hour twelve times a day.

Parts of this passage are explained by the earlier discussion on the cynocephalus, but certain passages need further exegesis. (a) It has been noted in modern times that this animal seems to be affected somewhat by the phases of the moon.<sup>38</sup> (b) Hopfner thought that this item may have affected the passage in the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles in which Silenus says that the satyrs are stooping like apes, but in view of the general lack of specific knowledge of the cynocephalus in early Greek times it is better to refer this to the stooping posture seen in any species of ape.<sup>39</sup> (c) This statement must refer to menstruation which has often been noted by biologists in non-human primates.<sup>40</sup> (d) That the Egyptians divided the heavens into seventy-two parts is attested by Iamblichus.<sup>41</sup> Thoth was the god of astronomy and the ape

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Hopfner, *Tierkult*, p. 26.

<sup>39</sup> *Ichneutae*, 122 (leaf V, 17). Hopfner, *loc. cit.*, cf. McDermott, *T. A. P. A.*, LXVI (1935), pp. 173-174, notes 53-54. Walton suggests that the chorus in this play may have been dressed as dogs:—*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLVI (1935), pp. 167-170.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. R. M. and A. W. Yerkes, *The Great Apes* (New Haven, 1929), pp. 543, 567, etc.

<sup>41</sup> *De mysteriis*, 8, 3; cf. Hopfner, *Tierkult*, p. 28.

might have been connected because of its connection with Thoth. The absurd idea that the ape dies part by part has an easy explanation. The Rhind papyrus, a demotic text of Augustan times, gives an account of the cult of the dead which specifies seventy days for embalming and two days for the actual funeral.<sup>42</sup> Hence Horapollon's story has a real basis—the priests did not consider the ape really dead until the funeral was completed.<sup>43</sup> (e) The text *γράμματα* probably should be amended to *γραμμαρέα*, as suggested by Hopfner in his textual note and by Leemans. Thoth was the scribe of the gods, and the cynocephalus often represented him in this capacity. (f) Aelian said that cynocephali could be taught letters.<sup>44</sup> (g) Hatred of fish, which were connected with Typhon and unclean, was universal with Egyptian priests.<sup>45</sup> The natural diet of the animal would not include fish. (h) Circumcision originated in Egypt, but in classical times was probably confined almost wholly to the priests. The appearance of the cynocephalus confirms this comparison.<sup>46</sup> (i) Apes have not ordinarily been considered good swimmers—but in the case of two species at least Elliot notes that this is not true.<sup>47</sup> However many other animals are more noted for their ability to swim than apes. (j) The most probable explanation of this idea is that the Egyptians observed herds of cynocephali at the rising of the moon and mistook their excitement for some sort of mystic communion.

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<sup>42</sup> Translated in H. Brugsch, *Die Aegyptologie* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 189-195. A demotic text from 79 B. C. allows ninety-six days (66 for embalming, 4 for preparation of the funeral, and 26 for the funeral): Brugsch, *Zeitschrift fuer Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, XXIV (1886), pp. 25-26.

<sup>43</sup> This idea is put forward by Hopfner, *Tierkult*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>44</sup> *N. A.*, VI, 10. Cf. Hopfner, *Tierkult*, p. 29.

<sup>45</sup> E. g., Plutarch, *Moralia*, 353D, 363F, 729A. Cf. Hopfner, *Tierkult*, p. 28.

<sup>46</sup> Hopfner, *loc. cit.*; Leemans, *op. cit.*, p. 204. For circumcision among the Egyptians cf. Strabo, XVI, 776; XVII, 824.

<sup>47</sup> II, p. 232 (the crab-eating macaque); III, p. 113 (the proboscis monkey).

This attitude is common in art. The royal crown is the moon symbol. Leemans correctly notes that the meaning is "both the moon and the cynocephalus," not "both the sun and the moon," as some earlier editors thought.<sup>48</sup> (k) Lauth mentions two zodiacs from Denderah on which the cynocephalus represents the equinox.<sup>49</sup> (l) Damascius tells the same story of the cat.<sup>50</sup> (m) A cynocephalus squats on a water clock in the Museum at Leyden. Its back is against the reservoir at the back, the perforation for the flow of the water into the basin at the front is in the basis on which the animal squats.<sup>51</sup>

Ordinary apes were known too in Egypt. In the second book of the *Hieroglyphica* there are three references to these animals. The treatise says that the Egyptians use an ape holding a small one on its back when they wish to signify a hated son who obtains an inheritance from his father. The story given to account for this is that apes have twin offspring of which it loves one and hates the other. The loved one it holds in its arms and smothers, the hated one clings to its back and survives.<sup>52</sup> This story, based on faulty observation, was current in classical literature and probably came to Egypt from that literature.<sup>53</sup> The story is told in Greek fables,<sup>54</sup> and by Avianus who gives the story a slightly different twist—the old ape drops the loved young one when tired out by

<sup>48</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

<sup>49</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 85.

<sup>50</sup> *Vita Isidori*, 101 (digested in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 242, *Patrologia Graeca*, CIII, cols. 1275-1276). Cf. Leemans, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-210.

<sup>51</sup> Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 36 (figure); Leemans, *op. cit.*, p. 214, pl. II, 37; Hopfner, *Tierkult.*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>52</sup> II, 66. Cf. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 7. Elliot says that young gibbons cling to the hair on their mother's breast and stomach as she goes through the trees: III, p. 150.

<sup>53</sup> Single offspring is the ordinary rule for apes and men—twins however are possible for apes as well as men: cf. Elliot, III, p. 90 (comments that the female Hanuman is said to have twins not infrequently).

<sup>54</sup> *Fabulae Aesopicae collectae*, 366, 366b (ed. Halm); Babrius, 35.

flight.<sup>55</sup> Oppian has the story,<sup>56</sup> and Pliny says that apes love their offspring so much that they often kill them by embracing them.<sup>57</sup> A chance accident of this sort is the probable basis of the whole story.

Another chapter in the *Hieroglyphica* says that an ape urinating represents a man hiding his faults, since an ape hides its urine.<sup>58</sup> The original reading may have referred to the cat rather than the ape.<sup>59</sup> Aelian relates this about the cat, which is more likely.<sup>60</sup> Nepualius says that the ape, when ill, drinks its own urine, a statement which may be related to that of Horapollon, which is otherwise without parallel.<sup>61</sup> A third chapter says that a lion devouring an ape represents a sick man treating himself, since a lion with a fever eats an ape as a remedy. Roeder cites this as an example of the hieroglyphics described which never occur in extant writings.<sup>62</sup> This story like the one of the ape and its children is a common one.<sup>63</sup> Tatianus remarks that other animals treat them-

<sup>55</sup> *Fab.*, 35; cf. Isidorus, *Etymol.*, XII, 2, 31. In a ninth century commentary on Boethius' *Consolatio philosophiae*, which is probably the work of Johannes Scottus, this story is used to give point to an explanation of a passage on those who prefer bodily gratification to spiritual good (*Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii consolationem philosophiae commentarius*, ed. E. T. Silk, American Academy in Rome, 1935, pp. 142-143: for the identification of the author of the commentary cf. pp. XXVII-L).

<sup>56</sup> *Cynegetica*, II, 608-611.

<sup>57</sup> *H. N.*, VIII, 216.

<sup>58</sup> II, 67.

<sup>59</sup> Leemans says that Pierius read ἀλλουρον instead of πίθηκον in some mss. (*op. cit.*, p. 358); cf. Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

<sup>60</sup> *N. A.*, VI, 27.

<sup>61</sup> *Fragmentum*, 10 (περὶ τῶν κατὰ ἀντιπάθειαν καὶ συμπάθειαν, ed. by G. Gemoll: *Staedtisches Realprogymnasium zu Striegau*, 1884). Gemoll considers Aelian the main source for this tract (p. 21) and thinks the name Nepualius should be retained, although nothing is known of the author (p. 19).

<sup>62</sup> II, 76. Cf. Keller, *Thiere*, pp. 8-9; Roeder, *loc. cit.*, col. 2315.

<sup>63</sup> Pliny, *H. N.*, VIII, 52 (speaks of the blood of the apes as the remedy); Tatianus, *Oratio ad Graecos*, 18 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*,

selves for disease—Plutarch elaborates on the same subject without mentioning the lion and the ape.<sup>64</sup> Aelian adds the detail that just as the lion uses the ape as medicine, so the dolphin uses the sea-ape.<sup>65</sup> As the lion was king of the land animals, so the dolphin was of the creatures of the sea, and the eagle of the birds of the air.<sup>66</sup> In a fable by Phaedrus a lion becoming king of beasts decided to forego bloodshed. This his nature would not allow him to do. After eating various animals, the ape was called in. The lion pretended illness, his physician prescribed some new food, and that food was the ape. This fable may reflect the story.<sup>67</sup> The real explanation of this fanciful piece of zoology comes in a passage from Philostratus. Speaking of apes harvesting pepper for the Indians, he says that they are held in honor by the Indians who protect them from lions who use them as medicine—then he adds the pertinent fact, namely that old lions which can no longer hunt stags and wild boars catch and eat apes.<sup>68</sup> Hence the origin of the story comes from the observation that old and enfeebled lions can no longer cope with larger and fiercer beasts.

Two instances of the trained ape in Egypt show Egyptian familiarity with apes other than the sacred baboon. The fable of the troupe of apes which, trained to dance in costume, was broken up when a spectator tossed food to them, was

VI, cols. 845-846); Aelian, *Varia historia*, I, 9; *N. A.*, V, 39; Timotheus, *De animalibus*, 51 (ed. Haupt, *Hermes*, III, 1869, p. 27); Manuel Philes, *De animalium proprietate*, 1549-1553 (based on Aelian).

<sup>64</sup> *Moralia*, 974 B. C. (*De sollertia animalium*, 20).

<sup>65</sup> *N. A.*, XV, 17; Philes, *loc. cit.*

<sup>66</sup> Cf. C. Prantl, *Philologus*, VII (1852), pp. 65-68 and E. B. Stebbins, *The Dolphin in the Literature and Art of Greece and Rome* (Johns Hopkins Diss., Menasha, Wis., 1920), pp. 88-89.

<sup>67</sup> *Fab.*, IV, 13 (reconstructed in the main from the prose paraphrasts: for the text cf. Postgate's edition, *Phaedri fabulae Aesopiae*, Oxford, 1919).

<sup>68</sup> *Vita Apollonii*, III, 4.

localized in Egypt.<sup>69</sup> In a procession in honor of Isis, an ape was dressed as a parody of Ganymede.<sup>70</sup>

#### EGYPT—ARTISTIC TRADITION

In the first chapters it was pointed out that Egypt had a strong influence in the introduction of representations of apes into the Mediterranean basin, especially in the eastern end, but this influence did not stop with the initial impetus when the idea was new. As was shown above, Egyptian figure-vases of the New Empire influenced Greek figure-vases.<sup>71</sup> In the sixth century the lid of an alabaster vase from Olbia with two apes shows the same artistic tradition (333). A number of figurines of Greco-Egyptian manufacture fall in the same category: one of faïence, a typically Egyptian material (273); one of bronze (207); and fifteen of terracotta (44-49, 81-82, 95-96, 152-155, 177). Three of these figurines show a specific Egyptian type, the cynocephalus with the sun-disk (48-49, 177), and two show the ape as the companion of its negro master (81, 207).

At this point three wall-paintings and a mosaic are of interest. One of the paintings in the temple of Isis at Pompeii shows an ape among other Egyptian animals (476). Another painting from Pompeii, caricaturing Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius as dog-headed baboons, shows Egyptian influence not only because of the animals represented, but also because comic art of this sort received its greatest impetus from Antiphilus of Alexandria (478).<sup>72</sup> A third painting from Herculaneum is probably a copy of the symbolic painting by

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<sup>69</sup> Lucian, *Piscator*, 36 (told about the apes of an Egyptian king); *Apologia*, 5 (told about an ape of Cleopatra); Gregorius Nyssenus, *Ad Harmonium* (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XLVI, cols. 239-242—told about the ape of a juggler in Alexandria).

<sup>70</sup> Apuleius, *Met.*, XI, 8—the procession is set near Corinth, but the Egyptian influence is obvious.

<sup>71</sup> Pp. 12-14.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (New Haven, 1929), pp. 274-275.



Nealces of the battle between Artaxerxes III and the Egyptians—in it one of the figures is the sacred Egyptian baboon (484). The great mosaic from Praeneste which gives a panorama of the Nile valley and the land beyond contains several apes (485).

A bronze relief from Egypt shows an ape as a quail-catcher (568). A Roman relief shows the cynocephalus driving a chariot (502), a scene which appears also on a Roman lamp (554). Another Roman lamp, presumably made for sale in Egypt, shows a cynocephalus, wearing the sun-disk, with Anubis and Thoth (563). A stone relief showing a dance in an Egyptian temple contains figures of four dog-headed baboons (503). A bronze relief shows a cynocephalus wearing a sun-disk (566). A small terracotta relief showing a female gorilla with its young comes from Egypt (499). Three empire coins from Alexandria show an ape which may be a cynocephalus among the animals around Orpheus (598-600). Several gems of various periods are influenced by Egyptian sources (578-580, 582-584, 587-591, 593, 595).<sup>73</sup> When Domitian restored the Iseum at Rome, he transported sphinxes and cynocephali (i. e. images of them) thither.<sup>74</sup> A five foot limestone statue of a cynocephalus has been found with the signature of a Greek artist, Nicias.<sup>75</sup> One final group of objects shows a curious Egyptian connection. Five glass figure vases from Gallo-Roman sites show an ape seated on a basket chair with a semicircular back (464-468). There are two connections with Egypt, in the first place chairs of this sort were originally made in Egypt, in the second, a similar vase shows a woman with negroid features and a shaved head. Both subjects (perhaps caricatures of Pan and Syrinx) were probably imitated from imported Egyptian objects.

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<sup>73</sup> Cf. also L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, p. 268.

<sup>74</sup> Fr. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (4th ed., Paris, 1929), p. 80.

<sup>75</sup> Brugsch, *Zeitschrift fuer Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, IX (1871), p. 88; Hopfner, *Tierkult.*, p. 168, note 4.

## HANNO AND THE GORILLAS

About the beginning of the fifth century B. C., Hanno, a Carthaginian explorer, led an expedition to found towns on the west coast of Africa. He seems to have gone farther than any subsequent ancient explorer—to the coast of Sierra Leone within eight degrees of the equator. On his return he posted a brief account of his adventures in a temple of Moloch at Carthage. This record, translated into Greek, is extant.<sup>76</sup> This translation may have been made for the use of a later explorer of west Africa, the historian Polybius.<sup>77</sup> The event in this narrative of interest here occurred at the end of the outward voyage. After passing a high mountain called Theon Ochema ("Chariot of the Gods") they came to Notu Ceras ("Southern Horn"). In this gulf lay an island containing a lake with a second island, on which were wild creatures which Hanno's interpreters called "gorillas." The males all escaped by climbing rocks and hurling stones, but three females with hairy bodies were captured, killed and flayed. Their skins were brought back to Carthage.<sup>78</sup> Cary plausibly identifies Theon Ochema as Kakulima in Sierra Leone and Notu Ceras as Sherbro Sound.<sup>79</sup> As to the real nature of the wild creatures of which Hanno captured three, there is general disagreement. Mueller in his comment on this passage did not commit himself to an opinion, but quoted apparently with approval, Klugius' opinion that these creatures were ourang-

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<sup>76</sup> The text with a Latin translation and notes is in C. Mueller, *Geographi Graeci minores*, I (Paris, 1855), pp. 1-14. For Hanno's voyage cf. also E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography* (London, 1879), I, pp. 318-331; S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du nord*, I (2nd ed., Paris, 1914), pp. 472-509; and particularly M. Cary and E. H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* (London, 1929), pp. 47-52 (this section is by Cary and includes a translation of the *Periplus*), 218-219 (notes 110-130 on chapter III, which include additional bibliography).

<sup>77</sup> Cary and Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>78</sup> *Periplus*, 17-18.

<sup>79</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

utans. This is clearly a confusion with chimpanzees, a common error. Bunbury considered them chimpanzees.<sup>80</sup> Keller thought they were gorillas.<sup>81</sup> Gsell thought of them as pygmies,<sup>82</sup> a view followed by Aurigemma<sup>83</sup> who compared the story of Sataspes the Persian who encountered pygmies on the west African coast.<sup>84</sup> Cary was doubtful whether the creatures were pygmies or chimpanzees, but was certain that they were not gorillas.<sup>85</sup> Dr. Robert Zahn is of the opinion that they were gorillas.<sup>86</sup> Elliot seems to think that they were gorillas.<sup>87</sup> Yerkes is uncertain, but inclines to the view that they were chimpanzees.<sup>88</sup> Further discussion of the identification of these creatures is postponed to give an account of echoes of Hanno's voyage in the Roman geographers.

Pomponius Mela, writing about the time of the Emperor Claudius,<sup>89</sup> mentions an island in a bay on which he says lived hairy women who conceived without intercourse with males, and were extremely wild and hard to keep in captivity. He adds that Hanno said this and was believed because he brought back some skins of these creatures.<sup>90</sup> In the same chapter he says that the Gorgons formerly lived in islands near Hesperu Ceras ("Horn of the West").<sup>91</sup> Mela must

<sup>80</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 327-328.

<sup>81</sup> *Thiere*, pp. 14-16.

<sup>82</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 505-507.

<sup>83</sup> S. Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten* (Rome and Milan, 1926), p. 127, note 14.

<sup>84</sup> Herodotus, IV, 43: cf. Cary and Warmington, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-97.

<sup>85</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>86</sup> This information was kindly given in private correspondence.

<sup>87</sup> III, p. 214.

<sup>88</sup> R. M. and A. W. Yerkes, *The Great Apes* (New Haven, 1929), pp. 3, 198.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age* (New York, 1927), p. 126.

<sup>90</sup> III, 9, 5 (the numbering in Frick's edition, Leipzig, 1880: in Parthey's edition, Berlin, 1867, which is often cited, the numbering is III, 93).

<sup>91</sup> III, 9, 9 (III, 99, Parthey).

have been familiar in some way with Hanno's account,<sup>92</sup> but either his information was second-hand or he had an interpolated version, or he used it inaccurately, inserting fabulous material from other sources. The misunderstanding about the lack of males can be traced back to the fact that Hanno brought back skins of females only. The introduction of the Gorgons in a place so far off as to be little known is typical of the universal custom of putting mythical creatures in remote corners of the world.<sup>93</sup> Connection of the wild creatures of Hanno and Gorgons seems inevitable when we think of the traditional description of the Gorgons.<sup>94</sup> Pliny on the authority of Xenophon Lampsacenus states that the Gorgades islands, formerly the home of the Gorgons, are two days journey (seaward) from Hesperu Ceras, which he erroneously considers a promontory. He then adds, presumably drawing from another source (Mela?) that Hanno went to these islands and brought back two skins which could be seen in a temple of Juno (i. e. Moloch) at Carthage until the capture of that city.<sup>95</sup> It should be noted that the three skins of Hanno are here reduced to two—this may be an attempt by some author to fit the story to the two sisters of Medusa.

What were the wild creatures which Hanno encountered? They were obviously not Gorgons. As has been seen, some authors connected them with Gorgons. Moreover a silver

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<sup>92</sup> Bunbury (*op. cit.*, I, p. 328, note 2) thought Mela had a copy of Hanno. It is more probable that he got his information from the lost treatise on geography by Cornelius Nepos which he cites (cf. Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 128). Nepos in his reading about Carthaginian history probably came across Hanno's *Periplus* or at least a reference to it by Polybius.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Mueller *a. h. l.* who cites Diodorus III, 55 (where the Gorgons and Amazons are placed in this region) and Palaephatus, 31 (where the Gorgons are placed here—Mueller's citation of paragraph 33 must be corrected to 31).

<sup>94</sup> E. g. Hesiod, *Scutum*, 223-237.

<sup>95</sup> *H. N.*, VI, 200; cf. Solinus, 56, 10-12 and Martianus Capella, VI, 702.

statuette has survived portraying Perseus carrying the head of an ape, instead of the head of Medusa (287). This identification with Gorgons, though inaccurate, goes far towards eliminating the idea that they were pygmies. The skins of pygmies would have hardly been of such a nature as to cause any such confusion. Also it might be expected that Hanno would have specified shortness of stature in this case, and it would be surprising for Hanno to make so much of pygmies, who had been known for some time in north Africa, Egypt and Greece.<sup>96</sup> Pygmies and apes could be easily confused,<sup>97</sup> but such confusion would be with the smaller apes rather than with the creatures mentioned in Hanno.<sup>98</sup> These creatures were surely not some tribe of men, since the Carthaginian explorers of the west coast of Africa were sure to be familiar with wild tribes and would hardly have been so interested in the skins of savage men. Moreover the description does not fit any of the tribes of that region. By elimination they seem to be one of the two African anthropoid apes—the chimpanzee or the gorilla. There are two specific objections to the chimpanzee—the savage resistance of the creatures which does not agree with the animal's disposition and the short stature of the chimpanzee which would raise the same objection here as in the case of pygmies.<sup>99</sup> Both of

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<sup>96</sup> For information about pygmies cf. particularly W. B. McDaniel, "A Fresco Picturing Pygmies," *A. J. A.*, XXXVI (1932), pp. 260-271.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. the scholiast *ad Oppianum de piscatione*, I, 623 (*Scholia et paraphrases in Nicandrum et Oppianum*, ed. U. C. Bussemaker, Paris, 1849). The *πύγμης* of Procopius (*De bellis*, VIII, 24, 39) on the island of Sardinia are surely dwarfed men. Tyson denied the existence of real pygmies and thought all the pygmies mentioned in ancient times were apes, which is incorrect because it is now definitely known that pygmies do exist: E. Tyson, *A Philological Essay Concerning the Pygmies of the Ancients*, London, 1699 (reprinted, London, 1894, ed. B. Windle).

<sup>98</sup> Marco Polo describes the fraud used in passing off the shaved bodies of monkeys as bodies of pygmies—cited by Yerkes, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>99</sup> The maximum height of the male is about five feet, of the female about four feet—Yerkes, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

these objections seem to point to the gorilla. One objection to this anthropoid ape is that in modern times its range is central, equatorial Africa, it definitely is not found so far to the west and the north as Sierra Leone.<sup>100</sup> This can be answered by the perfectly probable suggestion that formerly the range of the animal was much wider.<sup>101</sup> The next objection raised is that the gorilla was not gregarious, and that the animals are too powerful and too ferocious to allow Hanno's men to drive off the males and allow the capture of three females. Elliot presents Du Chaillu's account of the capture of female gorillas by natives which eliminates this objection.<sup>102</sup> The foregoing statements do not absolutely prove that these creatures which Hanno captured were gorillas, but they do make it extremely likely.

#### THE NORTH COAST OF AFRICA

In the discussion of the spread of the ape in the western Mediterranean, the importance of the Barbary ape was noted.<sup>103</sup> This ape was the source of most of the Etruscan representations, and was the ape meant by the Latin *simia* whenever that name was applied to a certain species of the animal and not used merely as a general term. This, too, is the *πίθηκος* of Aristotle's discussion of apes.<sup>104</sup> It must have been exported throughout the classical period in rather large numbers, since so many of the artistic representations seem to be Barbary apes. It is not possible to say definitely that all apes without tails represented in classical art are Barbary apes, since the omission of the tail in some cases may be due to artistic license, but in most cases there is a good possibility that this is so. The Barbary ape was often used as a pet and was the best known of apes in classical times—when,

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<sup>100</sup> Elliot, III, p. 212; Yerkes, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-400.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Yerkes, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

<sup>102</sup> III, pp. 214-215.

<sup>103</sup> Pp. 28-30.

<sup>104</sup> *H. A.*, II. 8.

in a fable of Phaedrus,<sup>106</sup> the ape begs a fox for its tail, it is the Barbary ape; when Martial describes a pet ape given as a present, it is a Barbary ape, *si mihi cauda foret, cerco-pithecus eram*.<sup>106</sup>

This species of ape is found in modern times in Morocco, Algeria, and on the Rock of Gibraltar in Europe.<sup>107</sup> It was probably introduced to Gibraltar at some indeterminate time from Spanish Morocco, perhaps by the Moors, since ancient writers do not mention it on Gibraltar. An interesting Moorish tradition says that the animals came over from Africa by an underground passageway, a reflection of the caves in which some of the apes live.<sup>108</sup> In ancient times it is highly probable that the habitat was more extensive than in modern times—native place-names in Tunis which include the name of the animal point to Tunis (and perhaps part of Libya) as the home of these apes.<sup>109</sup> It should be noted here that Elliot's nomenclature for the Barbary ape (*Simia sylvanus*, Elliot 287) replaces a name which has been used rather widely and has been copied by modern authors writing on apes in classical times (*Inuus ecaudatus*).<sup>110</sup>

The earliest reference to apes in this region is in many ways the most interesting. Herodotus after mentioning some details about the Zaveces and the Gyzantes says that they eat apes.<sup>111</sup> Geographically these peoples come next to the Libyans—they apparently lived to the south of Carthage, in the section which is now Tunis.<sup>112</sup> This geographical location is

<sup>106</sup> *Appendix*, I.

<sup>106</sup> XIV, 202.

<sup>107</sup> Elliot, II, p. 174.

<sup>108</sup> L. Joleaud considers it uncertain whether they were indigenous or not on Gibraltar: cf. pp. 137-139 of his valuable article, "Le rôle des singes dans les traditions populaires nord-Africaines," *Journal de la société des Africanistes*, I (1931), pp. 117-150.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 129-137; Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, pp. 344-345.

<sup>110</sup> Elliot, II, pp. 173-175. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 8, uses the term *Inuus ecaudatus*.

<sup>111</sup> IV, 193-194—many editors take the ape-eating statement as applying only to the Gyzantes, which is incorrect.

<sup>112</sup> J. T. Wheeler, *Geography of Herodotus* (London, 1854), pp. 554-556, places these tribes as far west as the Atlas mountains, but

corroborated by a later reference to ape-eating in Lucian, who says that the Garamantes in the Libyan desert ate apes.<sup>113</sup> It should be noted here that the "wild men and women" mentioned by Herodotus as inhabitants of western Libya cannot be anthropoid apes as stated by Tyson and Lichtenstein, but are either savage people or figments of the imagination.<sup>114</sup> Anthropoid apes did not and do not live in this section, and the smaller Barbary ape would not be so described.

Diodorus in his description of the expedition of Agathocles against the Carthaginians in 310 B. C. tells of the capture of one of three ape-cities by Eumachus. The region was near Carthage. It abounded in apes, and the name of these cities translated into Greek was Pithecussae. There the apes lived in the same houses as the people, who honor them, allow them to eat the food prepared in the storerooms, and name their children with ape-names. Moreover they decreed capital punishment against a man who killed an ape, and had a proverb that a man who killed with impunity had atoned for the blood of an ape.<sup>115</sup> One of these cities seems to be the same one mentioned in the geographical work which goes under the name of Scylax where "Pithecusae with a port" is named in the paragraph on Carthage and the surrounding

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the tribe names seem to be the basis of the names Zeugitana and Byzacium which places them in Tunis—cf. Joleaud, *loc. cit.*, p. 134.

<sup>113</sup> *Dipsas*, 2. A reference (Phaedrus, *Fab.*, III, 4) to an ape hanging in a butcher's shop, means a pet ape in a cage not a dead ape for sale as food; cf. McDermott, *T. A. P. A.*, LXVII (1936), pp. 159-160.

<sup>114</sup> IV, 191. E. Tyson, *A Philological Essay concerning the Pygmies of the Ancients* (1699, reprinted, London, 1894, ed. B. Windle), pp. 47-48; A. A. H. Lichtenstein, *Commentatio philologica de simiarum formis*, etc. (Hamburg, 1791), pp. 22-23, 72 (he listed them under chimpanzees).

<sup>115</sup> XX, 58, 3-5; cf. S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du nord*, I (2nd ed., Paris, 1914), pp. 109, 245-247. These ape-cities are erroneously located in Nubia by Sir E. A. T. W. Budge, *A History of Ethiopia, Nubia and Abyssinia* (London, 1928), I, p. 22. Keller (*Thiere*, p. 9) erroneously considered these apes baboons.



section.<sup>116</sup> A "port of Apes" near Carthage, mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus, is surely the same city.<sup>117</sup> The city is in all probability the city of Thabraca, a port about seventy-five miles due west of Carthage which Juvenal mentions in connection with the ape.<sup>118</sup> Timotheus in a chapter on the sphinx (i. e. a kind of ape) says that small ones drink wine and live with men "near the land of the blest."<sup>119</sup> His comment applies to this same section or to a section farther west in Numidia or Mauretania where these apes were honored as in the ape-cities.

The difference in the treatment of apes by semi-savage tribes in different parts of the north African coast requires some explanation. In general in the eastern section (Tunis and Libya) they were eaten, in the western section (Morocco and Algeria) they were protected. This explains in part the almost complete disappearance of the ape in Tunis and Libya. In all these sections the native inhabitants were of a similar original stock. Joleaud explains both practices as offshoots of a common original idea. The ape was a totemic animal—as the idea developed certain tribes adopted the practice of eating apes to obtain the strength of the totemic animal, other tribes honored the totemic animal by protecting it and living with it. Both groups used its name for place names.<sup>120</sup>

Strabo speaks of the large number of apes in Mauretania

<sup>116</sup> *Periplus*, III (*Geographi Graeci minores*, ed. C. Mueller, Paris, 1855, p. 90).

<sup>117</sup> *Ethn.*, s. v. *πιθήκων κόλπος*.

<sup>118</sup> *Sat.*, X, 192-195 (he compares the wrinkled skin of old-age with the appearance of a wrinkled ape in the groves of Thabraca). Cf. Joleaud, *loc. cit.*, p. 121.

<sup>119</sup> *De animalibus*, 52 (ed. M. Haupt, *Hermes*, III, 1869, p. 28). The word *σπίγξ* is generally used for a monkey, but here surely means the Barbary ape. Keller (*Thiere*, p. 14) suggests that this is the *Cercopithecus diana* (i. e. either *Lasiopyga diana*, Elliot 435, or *Lasiopyga roloway*, Elliot 436), but the habitat of both of these guenons is too far south (Guinea, Liberia and the Gold Coast—Elliot, II, pp. 380-381).

<sup>120</sup> Cf. the article by Joleaud cited above, particularly pp. 120-122, 124-127, 134-135, 148-150.

(in modern times Morocco and Algeria),<sup>121</sup> and quotes a passage from Posidonius of Rhodes who, on a voyage past the coast of Africa, saw large numbers of apes. Of these some were in trees, some on the ground, some were suckling their young, some exhibited various signs of disease, as for example ruptures.<sup>122</sup> Galen comments that only apes and men suffer ruptures, because only they have a particularly large peritoneum.<sup>123</sup> Aelian speaks of apes as the prey of panthers in Mauretania.<sup>124</sup> Manilius uses the word *cercopes* but surely means this ape when speaking of the animals of north Africa.<sup>125</sup> Plautus speaks of a child being bitten at Carthage by a pet ape,<sup>126</sup> and Mauretania is the locale of a story told by Ptolemy about Massinissa. When strangers came to buy apes for pets, he asked them if their wives did not bear children.<sup>127</sup> In the sixth century Luxorius uses the example of apes riding dogs in north Africa to show the peaceful times.<sup>128</sup>

In concluding this section a few of the many instances of the use of the north African tail-less ape in art may be noted.<sup>129</sup> In a painting from Pompeii it is the pet of a boy who has dressed it in a jacket and is forcing it to execute a clumsy dance (479). It accompanies a juggler in a series of lamps (515-536). On a lamp in Tunis it forms the decoration of the discus (543).

<sup>121</sup> XVII, 827.

<sup>122</sup> *Fragm.*, 66 (*Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, ed. Mueller, III, p. 277) = *Fragm.*, 73 (*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. Jacoby, II, A, p. 267).

<sup>123</sup> *De anatom. adm.*, VI, 5 (ed. Kuehn, II, p. 556).

<sup>124</sup> *N. A.*, V, 54.

<sup>125</sup> *Astronomica*, IV, 668; cf. below, p. 63.

<sup>126</sup> *Poenulus*, 1074.

<sup>127</sup> Ptolemaeus VII Physcon, *Fragm.*, 8 (Mueller, *op. cit.*, III, p. 188 = Jacoby, *op. cit.*, II, C, p. 985), quoted by Athenaeus, *Deipnos.*, XII, 518 f.

<sup>128</sup> *Anthologia Latina*, I, I, no. 330 (ed. A. Riese, Leipzig, 1869).

<sup>129</sup> In part II the descriptions include mention of the animal's tail, if there is one—the tail-less animals are probably, in the main, Barbary apes.

## THE CERCOPEs AND AENARIA

In Greek legends many unusual and fantastic creatures are found. The most amusing of these are the Cercopes (i. e. "tailed ones") which are connected with the legend of Hercules. The hero is supposed to have captured them when they played tricks on him, and to have carried them off as captives. In one version of the legend their remarks so amused him that he finally released them, in another version he killed them, in still another he handed them over to Omphale. This legend was originally localized in the pass of Thermopylae. Their name became the synonym of trickery and deceit. They were dwarfed and comic in appearance. Their proper names, and their number are variously given. A verb signifying "to cheat" was coined from their name. A place in Athens was called the "market place of the Cercopes" because stolen goods were on sale there.<sup>130</sup> A comic poem passing under the name of Homer seemed to have related their exploits.<sup>131</sup> On one of the archaic metopes from Selinus they are nude and are slung on a stick head downward over the shoulder of the hero.<sup>132</sup>

However one late variation of the legend is the point of interest here. According to Xenagoras, who seems to have

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<sup>130</sup> The basic account is in Chr. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus sive de theologiae mysticae Graecorum causis* (Regimontii Prussorum, 1829), II, pp. 1296-1308. Cf. also Karl O. Mueller, *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* (the Engl. transl. by H. Trefnell and G. C. Lewis, Oxford, 1830), I, pp. 463-464; W. Pape, *Woerterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (3rd ed. by G. E. Benseler, Braunschweig, 1884), p. 650, s. v. κέρκωψ; Keller, *Thiere*, p. 1; Seeliger in Roscher, *Lexikon*, II, I (Leipzig, 1890-94), cols. 1166-1173, s. v. *Kerkopen*; Adler in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, XI (Stuttgart, 1922), cols. 309-313, s. v. *Kerkopen*; H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (London, 1928), pp. 217, 296.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I (ed. G. C. Harles, Hamburg, 1790), p. 378; and F. G. Welcker, *Der epische Cyclus*, I (2nd ed., Bonn, 1865), pp. 382-385.

<sup>132</sup> Seeliger, *loc. cit.*, col. 1167, fig. 1; H. Brunn, F. Bruckmann, P. Arndt and G. Lippold, *Denkmaeler griechischer und roemischer Sculptur* (Munich, 1888 ff.), pl. 286.

lived in Hellenistic times,<sup>133</sup> the Cercopes were turned into apes because of their trickery and wickedness, and from them the Pithecusae islands got their name.<sup>134</sup> That they were transformed by Zeus is shown by passages in Lycophron<sup>135</sup> and Ovid.<sup>136</sup> In the latter passage the island of Pithecusae is mentioned along with Inarime and Prochyte, as being off the shore of Campania. In this same passage Ovid gives a description of the transformed Cercopes which is a perfect picture of apes with snub noses, shortened limbs, furrowed faces and shrill voices although the name of the animal is not used.

The transformation of Cercopes into apes has an early variation on a fourth century amphora, a comic representation of Hercules bringing the Cercopes to king Eurystheus. It shows two Cercopes as apes in cages slung on the hero's bow and carried over his shoulder (325). On a sherd Hercules is shown capturing an ape (326)—a scene which may be part of the same story. This story of the transformation of tricky and mischievous men into apes is almost inevitable, both because their name ("tailed ones") would suggest it, and because their comic actions make such a transformation so appropriate. It should be noted, however, that the original story surely did not include this transformation into apes—this part of the story came later.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>133</sup> Cf. F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, II, D, 2 (Berlin, 1930), pp. 702-703.

<sup>134</sup> *De insulis: Fragm.*, 13 in C. Mueller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, IV (Paris, 1868), p. 528; *Fragm.*, 28 in Jacoby, *op. cit.*, II, B, 2 (Berlin, 1929), p. 1009. This passage is cited by the scholiast *Ad Luciani Alexandrum*, 4; by Harpocration, *Lex.*, s. v., κέρκωψ; by Suidas, *Lex.*, s. v. κέρκορες; by Zenobius, IV, 50 (*Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum*, I, ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin, Goettingen, 1839, p. 99). The details (without the name of Xenagoras) are given by the scholiast *Ad Aeschinis de male gesta legatione*, 40 and by Eustathius *Ad Odys.*, XIX, 247 (1864, 33). Of these only Eustathius, Harpocration and Suidas mention that the Pithecusae islands were named from the Cercopes.

<sup>135</sup> *Alexandra*, 691-693, cf. scholiast *a. h. l.*

<sup>136</sup> *Met.*, XIV, 88-100.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. Adler, *loc. cit.*, col. 313.

Stories of apes as degenerated men are found elsewhere. A Mohammedan tradition said that certain Jews in the time of David were turned into apes for violating the Sabbath, and a Jewish legend said that the men in one of the three classes who built the tower of Babel were turned into apes.<sup>138</sup> Among African tribes the story that apes are degenerated humans occurs in various sections.<sup>139</sup> An Algerian tradition, apparently of very early origin, marks apes as men deprived of speech by the wrath of the gods.<sup>140</sup> This last tradition may have some connection with the story of the Cercopes.

On a Gallo-Roman flask showing Hercules and Dionysus engaged in a drinking bout, a pet ape sits beside Hercules (345). Of course this scene has no direct connection with the Cercopes, but it marks a connection of Hercules and the ape which appears a common proverb—'Ἡρακλῆς καὶ πίθηκος. This proverb contrasts the nobility and strength of the hero with the treachery and cunning of the animal. It is used by Lucian to contrast the great philosophers (Pythagoras, Plato, etc.) with the pseudo-philosophers of his day.<sup>141</sup> In later classical times the words *cercops* and *κέρκωψ* were sometimes

<sup>138</sup> J. Jacobs in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, I (New York and London, 1901), p. 663, s. v. *Apes*.

<sup>139</sup> N. W. Thomas in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, I (New York, 1913), pp. 522-523, s. v. *Animals*; Alice Werner, "African Mythology" in *The Mythology of all Races*, VII (Boston, 1925), pp. 272-274, 416.

<sup>140</sup> L. Joleaud, *Journal de la société des Africanistes*, I (1931), pp. 124-127.

<sup>141</sup> Lucian, *Piscator*, 37—cf. the scholiast a. h. l. The proverb is found in Gregorius Cyprius, III, 66 (*Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum*, II, ed. Leutsch, Goettingen, 1851, p. 117); Macarius, IV, 53 (*op. cit.*, II, p. 171); Apostolius, VIII, 65 (*op. cit.*, II, p. 449). Cf. Desiderius Erasmus, *Adagia* (Rotterdam, 1629), p. 187. Prantl is incorrect in saying that Hercules seems to have the role of the bear or the wolf: *Philologus*, VII (1852), p. 64. C. S. Koehler is also wrong in thinking that in this proverb the two qualities of the hero and the animal are combined in one person rather than being exemplified by two contrasting personalities: *Das Tierleben im Sprichwort der Griechen und Roemer* (Leipzig, 1881), p. 7, no. 17.

used without much discrimination. Suidas speaks of the word as signifying a kind of ape.<sup>142</sup> Manilius in speaking of the monsters of north Africa speaks of the "hideous offspring of apes (*cercopum*)."<sup>143</sup> Housman's view that the word is the equivalent of *cercopithec*i and that the creatures were the transformed Cercopes is not correct. Keller's view that they were anthropoid apes is impossible because of the geographical location.<sup>144</sup> The word is loosely used as the equivalent of *simiae* (Barbary apes)—the section is not the home of monkeys or anthropoid apes, and the statement is general enough to fit the Barbary ape, whose native habitat is north Africa. The word is used too for any ape,<sup>145</sup> or even for the sacred baboon of Egypt.<sup>146</sup> When the emperor Julian was called *Cercops*<sup>147</sup> it might be assumed that it merely meant an ugly, dwarfed person, but, when it is seen that he is called *purpurata simia*<sup>148</sup> at another time, it is highly probable that the word *Cercops* should be taken as the equivalent of *simia*.

The name of the island on which the Cercopes were supposed to have been changed into apes presents an interesting problem. The island is modern Ischia opposite Misenum which had three names in ancient times—Inarime, Aenaria and Pithecussa.<sup>149</sup> The first name was based on the Homeric phrase εἰν Ἀρίμοις,<sup>150</sup> transferred into Latin.<sup>151</sup> The second

<sup>142</sup> *Lex.*, s. v. κέρκωψ.

<sup>143</sup> *Astronom.*, IV, 668 (the manuscript reading of *cecropum* is easily emended to *cercopum*), cf. A. E. Housman, *a. h. l.*

<sup>144</sup> *Thiere*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>145</sup> Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Epist.*, 164 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XXXVII, col. 273A); *Carmina*, II, 1, 35 (*ibid.*, col. 1323).

<sup>146</sup> Iohannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, III, 11; IV, 76.

<sup>147</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, 14, 3.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, XVII, 11, 1.

<sup>149</sup> Pliny, *H. N.*, II, 203; III, 82; Solinus, 3, 2; Martianus Capella, VI, 644. Cf. Huelsen in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, I (Stuttgart, 1894), cols. 594-595, s. v. *Aenaria*.

<sup>150</sup> *Il.*, II, 783.

<sup>151</sup> Virgil, *Aen.*, IX, 716, cf. Servius, *Ad Aen.*, IX, 715.

name was supposed to have been given because the island was used as a naval base by Aeneas.<sup>152</sup> The third name presents some difficulties. It varied in number—Pliny gives it in the singular, but the plural was used for a single island.<sup>153</sup> In Stephanus Byzantinus the definition applies to more than one island.<sup>154</sup> It was connected with apes in some way, although Pliny preferred to derive it from the manufacture of *dolia*, (i. e. *πίθοι*), rather than from the “multitude of apes.”<sup>155</sup> Servius suggests for the name Aenaria the fact that it may be connected with *arimi*, an Etruscan word for “ape,” a word which is also known from Strabo.<sup>156</sup> This statement of Servius gives the clue to the real answer and to the original idea behind the three names given to the island.<sup>157</sup> There was an original Semitic word *harim*, “a flat-nosed person,” from which the Carthaginians took a (conjectural) word *arim*, which they applied to this island with the meaning “isle (?) of apes.” The reason for the application is not clear, but it presumably had some connection with the north African apes, perhaps they were imported to this island for some reason. In one form this word was applied to this island as Aenaria (a name later connected with Aeneas), in another form as Inarime (connected with the Homeric phrase). *Pitheculssa*, a literal translation of the word, was also given as a name to the island. This last name caused the mythographers to connect the island with the myth of the Cercopes, which involved an inconsistency

<sup>152</sup> Pliny, *loc. cit.*; Paulus, *Epit. Festi*, 20.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. the references given in W. Pape, *Woerterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (3rd ed. by Benseler, Braunschweig, 1884), p. 1196, s. v. *Πιθηκούσσαί*.

<sup>154</sup> *Ethn.*, s. v. *Πιθηκούσσαί*; also Herodianus, *Prosodia catholica*, XI (*Grammatici Graeci*, III, 1, ed. Lentz, Leipzig, 1867, p. 270, 18-19).

<sup>155</sup> *H. N.*, III, 82.

<sup>156</sup> Servius, *loc. cit.*; Strabo, XIII, 626; cf. also Hesychius, *Lex.*, s. v. *ἄριμος*.

<sup>157</sup> The whole problem is discussed by Bonacelli (*Scimmia*, pp 346-359) whose view is followed here.

since the original connection with apes was with the Barbary ape which has no tail. The final connection with manufacture of storage jars probably points to such manufacture in Pliny's time erroneously transferred to an earlier date. That the Arimi of Asia, mentioned by Homer, should be connected with the Etruscan word for ape is extremely unlikely.<sup>158</sup>

#### ETHIOPIA

This geographical name was used very broadly in ancient times and usually included all of Africa except Egypt, the north coast, and the Libyan desert. It was this section which was most productive of apes of various kinds. Monkeys, baboons and anthropoid apes from Ethiopia were known in ancient times. The famous Bocchoris vase shows monkeys and negroes as (hoped-for) tribute from the victory of Bocchoris over the Ethiopian Pharaoh—a victory which did not materialize (327). The baboons and monkeys of Egypt came from Ethiopia.

The starting point for any discussion of this sort is the huge mosaic at Praeneste (485). Since this mosaic is a panorama of Egypt and the Ethiopian land south of Egypt, and since the upper part of the mosaic includes a large number of labelled animals, it should be an easy matter to identify these animals with a great deal of certainty. However it is probably a copy of an Egyptian original, and the copyist surely knew little about the animals. The inaccuracy in the use of names and in the portrayal of the animals greatly reduces the value of the mosaic in this discussion. Three monkeys (of indeterminate species) are portrayed—of these the first is labelled *σφιγγία*, properly since the word is usually given to Ethiopian tailed apes. A fourth animal is unlabelled and probably represents, though not very accurately, the smaller of the African anthropoids—the chimpanzee. It has heavy shoulders and belly and a leonine snout.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>158</sup> Pape, *op. cit.*, p. 127, s. v. Ἄριμα (defined as "ape-city").

<sup>159</sup> Keller (*Thiere*, p. 18) suggests this possibility.



The sacred baboon of Egypt (*Papio hamadryas*, Elliot, 275) whose habitat is in Abyssinia,<sup>160</sup> was described by Agatharchides in his list of Ethiopian animals.<sup>161</sup> The dog-like head is noted, and the voice like human muttering. They are compared to deformed men. The savagery of the animal is exaggerated—this applies only to older males. The statement that the womb of the female hangs outside the body must be due to observation of a diseased animal, or to confusion with the ischial callosities which are present in this species.<sup>162</sup> Strabo mentions a watering-place of the cynocephali near Cape Guardafui (in modern Italian Somaliland), and quotes Artemidorus of Ephesus to the effect that cynocephali are found in this region.<sup>163</sup> Diodorus speaks of cynocephali living on islands of the Nile.<sup>164</sup> This was incorrectly thought by Keller to mean that these animals were indigenous in the northern, or Egyptian section of the Nile,<sup>165</sup> but Diodorus in his comment on the islands of the Nile includes Meroe which is not an island, as the ancients thought, but that section of Nubia and Abyssinia which is almost surrounded by the Blue Nile, the White Nile and the Atbara. Since these islands are mentioned by Diodorus along with Meroe, it may be assumed that they were in the Nubian section of the Nile, not in the northern part. When explorers sent by Nero to Ethiopia gave their report, they said that there were cynocephali on the island of Tergedus, which was by river four hundred and forty miles from the "island" of

<sup>160</sup> Elliot, II, p. 144.

<sup>161</sup> *De mari Erythraeo*, 74 (*Geographi Graeci minores*, ed. Mueller, I, pp. 159-160); this description is copied by Diodorus Siculus, III, 35, 5.

<sup>162</sup> The only ape, known to me, which might be so described is the Formosa macaque (*Pithecus cyclopsis*, Elliot, 299) which could not have been known to Agatharchides. The female of this species shows extraordinary swelling of the callosities, external genitalia and the base of the tail (Elliot, II, p. 204).

<sup>163</sup> XVI, 774-775.

<sup>164</sup> I, 33, 4.

<sup>165</sup> *Thiere*, p. 8.

Meroe.<sup>166</sup> Actually Tergedus is in about the same latitude as the confluence of the Nile and the Atbara rivers. Pliny speaks of Nomads living on the milk of cynocephali,<sup>167</sup> who apparently lived in this same section. These references in Pliny place this animal farther west than its modern habitat,—which may be explained in one of two ways. The habitat in ancient times may have been wider, or these references may be, not to the hamadryas baboon, but to the yellow baboon (*Papio cynocephalus*, Elliot, 271) which is found in Nubia.<sup>168</sup>

Monkeys from Ethiopia are designated by four names, which are often confused: *sphinx*, *cepus* (or *cebus*), *callitriches*, and *cercopithecus*. The *sphinx* is described by Agatharchides,<sup>169</sup> who says that these animals are similar to the mythical monster except that they have more hair. Also they are gentle and easily trained, but cunning. Pliny adds that they have red-brown hair, and have two nipples on their breast.<sup>170</sup> Isidorus and Solinus exaggerate the latter statement by saying that they have prominent breasts.<sup>171</sup> Pliny also mentions that these animals have cheek pouches for storing food.<sup>172</sup> According to various authors they live in Meroe,<sup>173</sup> Somaliland,<sup>174</sup> and in Nubia.<sup>175</sup> The sphinx mentioned by Timotheus is not from this region and this is surely an improper use of the word, for the circumstances point to the Barbary ape.<sup>176</sup> The name of the animal is de-

<sup>166</sup> Pliny, *H. N.*, VI, 184. Cf. M. Cary and E. H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* (New York, 1929), pp. 174-176.

<sup>167</sup> Pliny, *H. N.*, VI, 190; VII, 31; Solinus, 30, 4.

<sup>168</sup> Elliot, II, p. 138.

<sup>169</sup> *De mari Erythraeo*, 73 (ed. Mueller, *loc. cit.*), copied by Dioscorus Siculus, III, 35, 4.

<sup>170</sup> *H. N.*, VIII, 72.

<sup>171</sup> Solinus, 27, 59; Isidorus, *Etymol.*, XII, 2, 32.

<sup>172</sup> *H. N.*, X, 199.

<sup>173</sup> Mela, III, 9, 2 (III, 88, ed. Parthey); pseudo-Callisthenes, *Historia Alexandri magni*, II, 18, 7.

<sup>174</sup> Pliny, *H. N.*, VI, 173; Artemidorus in Strabo, XVI, 775.

<sup>175</sup> Pliny, *H. N.*, VI, 184.

<sup>176</sup> *De animalibus*, 52 (ed. Haupt, *Hermes*, III, 1869, p. 28); cf. above, p. 58, note 119.

rived from the sphinx of mythology, rather than the reverse. Philostorgius says that the Greeks invented the Boeotian sphinx from the appearance of the ape, but he is making a point of ridiculing pagan superstition, and his description of an Indian ape, which he calls a sphinx, has all the signs of editing to prove his point.<sup>177</sup> The sphinx is probably an African guenon, but identification of the species cannot be made because of insufficient data. The African guenons of the genus *Lasiopyga* (Elliot, 353-437) have large cheek pouches,<sup>178</sup> which would agree with Pliny's statement about the sphinx. It might possibly be a reddish guenon found in British East Africa (*Lasiopyga rubella*, Elliot, 396).<sup>179</sup> Identification as the chimpanzee,<sup>180</sup> or the mandrill (*Papio sphinx*, Elliot, 278)<sup>181</sup> disregards omission in the descriptions of the brilliant and varied coloring of the mandrill, and the great strength of the chimpanzee.

*Cepus* (or *cebus*) is a word used at times for any ape with a tail,<sup>182</sup> but three authors describe a particular, Ethiopian monkey under this name. Pythagoras, quoted by Aelian, described in detail a monkey so brilliantly colored that it was named κήπος ("a garden").<sup>183</sup> It was about the size of an Eretrian dog. Its head and back were fiery, its cheeks, neck, breast, belly and forepaws were white, its neck was golden, and its hindpaws black. Its snout was dog-like, and its breasts were large enough to fill the hand.<sup>184</sup> Other authors

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<sup>177</sup> *Historia ecclesiastica*, III, 11 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXV, cols. 496-497); cf. Keller, *Thiere*, pp. 13-14 (the suggestion that this animal might be a chimpanzee is impossible, since the ape, if it existed at all, was Asiatic). Cf. below, pp. 84-85.

<sup>178</sup> Elliot, II, pp. 275-276.

<sup>179</sup> Elliot, II, p. 342.

<sup>180</sup> Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-22, 72-73.

<sup>181</sup> C. H. Oldfather in the Loeb classical Library edition of Diodorus, vol. II, p. 181.

<sup>182</sup> E. g. by Aristotle, *H. A.*, II, 8.

<sup>183</sup> This is probably a false etymology, the word surely came from an Ethiopian word (Cuvier, see note 186).

<sup>184</sup> *N. A.*, XVII, 8.

add that it has the face of a lion, the body of a panther, and is the size of a gazelle.<sup>185</sup> This is undoubtedly one of the highly-colored guenons. The colors in the description are duplicated in all details except the black hindpaws by the Nisnas guenon (*Erythrocebus pyrrhonotus*, Elliot, 441).<sup>186</sup> However the other details are not duplicated exactly, particularly the breasts and dog-like snout.

The *callitriches* are described by Pliny as being altogether different in appearance from the ordinary ape. It has a beard and a tail which was broad at the base. It could not live away from its original habitat.<sup>187</sup> Its name obviously came from the beauty of its hair. As Keller noted,<sup>188</sup> this is without doubt one of the guerezas, probably the Abyssinian guereza (*Colobus abyssinicus*, Elliot, 541). These pretty animals do not adapt themselves to captivity.<sup>189</sup> The beard is shown on a plate in Elliot of the white-throated guereza (*Colobus vellerosus*, Elliot, 536).<sup>190</sup> The *cercopithec*i of Ethiopia with black heads, the hair of an ass and unusual voices mentioned by Pliny cannot be specifically identified.<sup>191</sup>

There are three passages, all of which may refer to anthropoid apes. The first is in Agatharchides. He describes two tribes which live in Ethiopia and which he calls the spermatophagi (seed-eaters) and hylophagi (wood-eaters). The

<sup>185</sup> Agatharchides, *De mari Erythraeo*, 75 (ed. Mueller, *loc. cit.*); Artemidorus in Strabo, XVI, 775; Diodorus Siculus, III, 35, 6. Keller (*Thiere*, p. 12) referred the last two citations to the gelada baboon (*Theropittheus gelada*, Elliot 281).

<sup>186</sup> Elliot, III, p. 9, pl. I. Cuvier considered it a Patas guenon (*E. patas*, Elliot 440) but the habitat of that guenon is Senegal, whereas the Nisnas guenon is found in the north-east part of central Africa. Cuvier's notes are cited in F. Jacobs, *Aeliani de natura animalium libri XVII* (2 vols., Jena, 1832), note to XVII, 8.

<sup>187</sup> *H. N.*, VIII, 216; Solinus, 27, 60; Isidorus, *Etym.*, XII, 2, 33.

<sup>188</sup> *Thiere*, p. 14. Lichtenstein's identification (*op. cit.*, pp. 68, 78) of the animal as *Simia faunus* is incorrect, as this is apparently some species of macaque, an Asiatic monkey (Elliot, II, pp. 176-177).

<sup>189</sup> Elliot, III, p. 116.

<sup>190</sup> Elliot, III, pl. 3, opp. p. 139.

<sup>191</sup> *H. N.*, VIII, 72.

former eat seeds, fruits and herbs, the latter the smaller branches of trees and shrubs. The following details are given about the latter group, but may apply to both. They climb with incredible facility, and leap with great agility. Their bodies are small and graceful, in climbing they use both feet and hands. They build shelters at night, wear no clothes, have wives and children in common. When they fight they use sticks as arms, and tear the conquered in pieces. They are susceptible to cataracts and many die of hunger when their sight fails.<sup>192</sup> Most of these details are consistent with the smaller of the two African anthropoid apes—the chimpanzee.<sup>193</sup> They are extremely agile in tree-climbing, using all four paws,<sup>194</sup> they build tree shelters,<sup>195</sup> their diet is almost wholly vegetarian,<sup>196</sup> in captivity they use sticks as implements,<sup>197</sup> they are gregarious, and live in family bands.<sup>198</sup> Their size fits the description, an average height and weight being fifty inches and one hundred and fifty pounds (plus or minus twenty per cent).<sup>199</sup> There is apparently no evidence for a great deal of eye-trouble, but in general the animal is subject to about the same diseases found in man.<sup>200</sup> There seems to be no doubt that at least the hylophagi were chimpanzees.

Pliny says that at the games celebrated by Pompey (probably during his second consulship in 55 B. C.) there were Ethiopian animals called *cepi*<sup>201</sup> whose hindpaws were like

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<sup>192</sup> *De mari Erythraeo*, 51 (ed. Mueller, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 142-143), copied in Diodorus, III, 24.

<sup>193</sup> Keller (*Thiere*, p. 17) suggests that they are chimpanzees or gorillas—the latter is impossible because of the bulk of the animal and their comparatively poor tree-climbing ability: cf. R. M. and A. W. Yerkes, *The Great Apes* (New Haven, 1929), p. 408.

<sup>194</sup> Yerkes, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-215.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 231-235.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 354-355, fig. 110.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 557-558.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 552.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 239-244.

<sup>201</sup> Mayhoff in the Teubner text (Leipzig, 1909) reads the Greek

human feet and whose forepaws were like human hands. He adds that this animal was not seen again at Rome.<sup>202</sup> Pliny does not say that they were used in combat, but it would be quite unlike the Romans to have animals brought from Ethiopia merely for exhibition. The description of the extremities, and the rarity of the animal point to the anthropoids. The likelihood that it fought in a *venatio* would point to the gorilla. Despite the name used the animal was not the ordinary African monkey, or it would not be listed by Pliny as a rarity. One of the pictures painted on the podium of the amphitheater at Pompeii was a tiger fighting an ape (480). If this was a picture of a real scene, which it might well have been, no ape but the gorilla would be strong enough to be matched with a tiger. At the end of the fourth century A. D. a certain Hierax of Alexandria saw a Pan-like animal which had been brought from Ethiopia to Byzantium. It was similar to written and pictured accounts and its voice was like a shriek.<sup>203</sup> Keller thought this might be a gorilla, but, although this is possible, the information is too slight for a final statement.<sup>204</sup>

Goat-like Pans and satyrs are mentioned among other mythical inhabitants of west Africa by Pliny,<sup>205</sup> Pans and satyrs by Mela.<sup>206</sup> It would not be necessary to discuss these creatures, if it were not for the fact that *satyrus* is sometimes used as the name for a kind of ape. This ape is mentioned by Pliny in his general account of apes.<sup>207</sup> There is no rea-

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form κῆπος. The mss. readings vary with *caepus*, *caephus*, *cephus*, *cephius* and *cephos*. Surely Pliny originally latinized the form to *cepos*.

<sup>202</sup> *H. N.*, VIII, 70: cf. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 16; L. Friedlaender, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, IV (tr. by A. B. Gough from the sixth German ed., London, 1928), p. 186.

<sup>203</sup> Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, 78 (excerpted by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 242; Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CIII, cols. 1271-1272).

<sup>204</sup> *Thiere*, pp. 16-17 (the man quoted by Damascius is Hierax not Hiero).

<sup>205</sup> *H. N.*, V, 7, 44 and 46.

<sup>206</sup> III, 9 (III, 95, ed. Parthey).

<sup>207</sup> *H. N.*, VIII, 216, cf. also X, 199 and Solinus, 27, 60.

son to place these *satyri* in Africa rather than in Asia which is specifically mentioned as their home in another passage in Pliny.<sup>208</sup> The mythical satyrs and the satyr-apes are all lumped together and identified as the mandrill (*Papio sphinx*, Elliot, 278) by Lichtenstein,<sup>209</sup> and as the chimpanzee by Keller.<sup>210</sup> The latter identification at least has the justification of being partly based on Pliny's remark that the satyrs have a man-like figure, and Solinus' addition that they are of a pleasing appearance and lively in their gestures.<sup>211</sup> The satyr-ape will be discussed in the next section.

Finally the *lynx* mentioned by Galen and Pliny was considered a kind of baboon by Lichtenstein. Pliny mentioned it in the same sentence with the sphinx, and Galen listed it as an alternative for dissection if an ordinary ape was not available. This is probably some species of monkey rather than a baboon.<sup>212</sup>

#### INDIA

That India was the native habitat of many kinds of apes was known throughout the classical period. These animals were imported into the Mediterranean region and excited interest among classical writers on geography. However it is quite unlikely that the Indian apes were ever imported in large numbers, and the knowledge of them is extremely sketchy. None of Aristotle's statements applied specifically to Indian animals.<sup>213</sup> Much of the information in classical writers probably goes back to the lost *Indica* of Megasthenes who was sent by Seleucus Nicator to India as an ambassador and explorer. His trustworthiness which had been seriously questioned has been confirmed by modern studies of early

<sup>208</sup> *H. N.*, VII, 24.

<sup>209</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 52-53, 76.

<sup>210</sup> *Thiere*, p. 17.

<sup>211</sup> *H. N.*, V, 47; Solinus, 27, 60.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. below, pp. 95-96. Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 75. Pliny *H. N.*, VIII, 72; Galen, *De anatom. adm.*, IV, 3 (ed. Kuehn, II, p. 430); VI, 1 (II, p. 535); *De usu partium*, XI, 2 (III, pp. 844, 847).

<sup>213</sup> *H. A.*, II, 8-9.

Indian literature.<sup>214</sup> Such apes as were imported into classical countries probably came almost entirely by land-routes even after the discovery of an easy sea-route by use of the monsoon in the first century A. D., because shipment of animals by sea presents the difficulties of adequate sanitation and room and the deterioration of the animals by sea sickness.<sup>215</sup>

The really surprising thing in the classical knowledge of the Indian ape is that the authors who mention it seem to be wholly unaware that the animal was sacred, yet the sacred character of the animal was surely established at that time. In the *Rāmāyana* and in a long episode in the *Māhabhārata* the story is told of Viṣṇu, incarnated as Rāma. He is aided by the god Hanumān, the monkey, and his monkey-followers. This god is essentially the guardian god of every settlement. Originally he may have been the genius of the monsoon, and his followers the rainclouds.<sup>216</sup> A statue of the monkey-god

<sup>214</sup> A collection of the fragments of Megasthenes as well as the statements of classical authors on India was made by J. W. M'Crindle in six volumes which contain introductions, translations and notes (but no text). These volumes which are extremely valuable are I, *Ancient India as Described by Ktesias the Knidian* (London, 1882), II, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (London, 1877), III, *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea* (Calcutta, 1879), IV, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy* (Westminster, 1883), V, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (2nd ed., Westminster, 1896) includes Arrian, Curtius Rufus, etc., VI, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature* (Westminster, 1901) includes Strabo, Pliny, Aelian, etc. For Megasthenes cf. also H. G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse Between India and the Western World from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome* (Cambridge, 1916), pp. 39-68; M. Cary and E. H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* (New York, 1929), pp. 152-153.

<sup>215</sup> Cf. E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 146-147. Warmington's statement on p. 147 (cf. note 8 on p. 359) concerning four species of Indian monkeys exported to the classical world is only a guess.

<sup>216</sup> Cf. A. B. Keith, "Indian Mythology," *The Mythology of All Races*, VI (Boston, 1917), pp. 127-130.



was, and often still is, found in each village.<sup>217</sup> The sacred Indian monkey is the Hanuman langur (*Pygathrix entellus*, Elliot, 501) of northern and central India.<sup>218</sup> This monkey is identified with Hanumān, the god and the consequent sacred character of the monkey is older than the connection of Hanumān with the story of Rāma.<sup>219</sup> Another extremely common Indian monkey is the Bengal macaque (*Pithecus rhesus*, Elliot, 305).<sup>220</sup> Although it is not sacred, it is not harmed by the Indians, and manages to do a great deal of damage to property. It is probable that this macaque was among those exported.

In the artistic objects it is not possible ordinarily to distinguish between Indian and African monkeys. In one particular object the general design makes this distinction. A silver dish from Lampsacus represents India as a woman seated on a chair supported with elephant tusks. Flanking her are two monkeys which, though not naturalistically portrayed, are probably meant for Hanuman langurs (338).

Most of the monkeys described in classical authors are without doubt langurs or macaques, but often the descriptions are too vague for even an attempt at species identification. Ctesias spoke of small apes with tails six feet long. This does not seem credible and Baehr suggested reading *μακρῶν* instead of *μικρῶν*.<sup>221</sup> Although six feet would still be an excessive length, langurs do have long tails. With this

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<sup>217</sup> Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-237; Crooke in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, II (New York, 1913), pp. 485-486 s. v. *Bengal*; Russell in Hastings, *op. cit.*, III (New York, 1913), p. 313, s. v. *Central Provinces*. For a general collection of material on the monkey in Indian myth cf. A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology* (London, 1872), II, pp. 96-108, 118-120.

<sup>218</sup> Elliot, III, p. 88.

<sup>219</sup> Crooke, *loc. cit.* The snake and the monkey were the earliest animals to be considered sacred: E. W. Hopkins, *India, Old and New* (New York, 1901), p. 107.

<sup>220</sup> Elliot, II, pp. 213-216.

<sup>221</sup> *Indica*, 3 (J. C. F. Baehr, *Ctesiae Cnidii operum reliquiae*, Frankfurt, 1824). Ctesias is digested by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 72 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CIII).

text change a number of similar references can be added. Megasthenes said that among the Prasii (i. e. among the people of western India) there are apes, larger than the largest dogs, with tails about three feet long. They are white with black faces, and are very tame. This description follows Strabo's quotation from Megasthenes; in Aelian's quotation the colors are reversed (surely by mistake), and the tails are said to be over seven feet long (an obvious error), and they are described as having a beard.<sup>222</sup> Aelian is probably using the same source when he tells of monkeys among the Prasii with a beard and a lion-like tail. He adds that the head and the tip of the tail are reddish (dark red and black might easily be interchanged by the author). He adds several credible details, namely that they are arboreal, feed on wild fruit and go down in bands to the city of Latage to eat the rice which the Indians put out for them.<sup>223</sup> These descriptions fit the langurs. The monkeys may be Hanuman langurs, as stated by Keller, who lumps all of these Indian monkeys together in that species,<sup>224</sup> but it is just as possible that Ball's identification as the Madras langur (*Pygathrix priamus*, Elliot, 507) is correct.<sup>225</sup> The animals of both species are not really white, but an ashy grey.

Two passages from Strabo and Aelian are probably about these same monkeys. Strabo says that when Alexander was in India he met a large band of monkeys standing in such a way that they seemed to be an army. The Macedonians prepared for battle until informed by their Indian guide that their opponents were monkeys. The passage continues with an account of the methods used to capture the animal.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> *Fragm.*, 10-11 (*Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, ed. Muel-ler, II, pp. 410-411). *Fragm.* 10 is from Strabo, XV, 703; *Fragm.* 11 is from Aelian, *N. A.*, XVII, 39. In general Strabo is more trustworthy than Aelian, so when the two authors quote the same source with variations, Strabo's version is to be preferred.

<sup>223</sup> XVI, 10.

<sup>224</sup> *Thiere*, pp. 9-11.

<sup>225</sup> V. Ball, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, series II, vol. II (no. 6, Jan., 1885), pp. 309-310.

<sup>226</sup> XV, 699.

Aelian gives an almost identical account except that he says the monkeys were of a variegated color. Aelian is quoting from Clitarchus who accompanied Alexander on his Asiatic expedition.<sup>227</sup> Diodorus has used the same source for his account of Alexander's march where he says the monkeys were large and numerous, and then details the method of their capture.<sup>228</sup> When Arrian says he need not speak of the size and the method of capture of the Indian monkeys he probably has the account of Strabo or Clitarchus or some similar account in mind. He does comment particularly on the beauty of these animals.<sup>229</sup> The last detail fits the langurs. Pliny and Aelian speak of white apes which may not differ from those just discussed.<sup>230</sup> In this passage from Aelian it is stated that these white apes and black ones are captured and taken to the king, but that red ones were killed because they were lascivious. There is too little detail about these animals to attempt identification. The name *sphinx* applied to the ape reflects the use of that term for an African monkey,<sup>231</sup> the cynocephali in a list of Indian animals are probably monkeys.<sup>232</sup> When Pliny speaks of men in India of great agility and with hairy tails, he may have a garbled account of the Indian monkey before him.<sup>233</sup>

Of all the accounts of Indian monkeys the most interesting is that given by Philostratus of Lemnos. He says that in north India apes harvest the pepper for the Indians. It is done in this way,—during the day the men dig trenches around the trees and throw pieces of pepper in the trenches when the apes are watching. At night bands of apes come

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<sup>227</sup> Clitarchus, *Fragm.*, 16 (*Scriptores rerum Alexandri magni*, ed. Mueller, p. 80) from Aelian, XVII, 25.

<sup>228</sup> XVII, 90, 1-3.

<sup>229</sup> *Anabasis*, VIII, 15, 9 (*Anabasis*, VIII is often cited as *Indica*).

<sup>230</sup> Pliny, *H. N.*, VIII, 76; Aelian, *N. A.*, XV, 14.

<sup>231</sup> Aelian, *N. A.*, XVI, 15; *Dimensuratio provinciarum*, 1 (*Geographi Latini minores*, ed. Riese, p. 9).

<sup>232</sup> *Periplus maris Erythraei*, 50 (*Geographi Graeci minores*, ed. Mueller, I, p. 294).

<sup>233</sup> *H. N.*, VII, 30.

up and imitate the actions of the men. For this service the Indians hold the apes in high esteem and protect them from lions.<sup>234</sup> M'Crindle notes that pepper is found in southern, not northern India.<sup>235</sup> An Egyptian relief from Beni Hasan shows baboons gathering figs for their masters.<sup>236</sup>

Aelian describes the satyri of India in the following manner. They have the appearance of mythological satyrs. When not pursued, they live in dense forests on leaves and fruits. When pursued, they flee to the mountains and roll down rocks on their pursuers. They exhibit incredible speed.<sup>237</sup> This is apparently the same creature which was described earlier by Pliny as living in the mountains of western India. They are at times quadrupeds and at times bipeds, and move with such speed that only the old or sick are captured. They are the woodland race of the Choromandae (he continues on the authority of Tauron) with hairy bodies, grey eyes, dog-like teeth, without speech, but venting terrible shrieks.<sup>238</sup> These details make it very probable that here is the eastern gibbon (*Hylobates*, Elliot, 546-557) several species of which are found in India. The details about their speed, voice, diet and mountain climbing are accurate.<sup>239</sup> The locality assigned presents a difficulty—they are placed in western India, but the gibbon is found in eastern India.<sup>240</sup> This can be explained by the ease with which a story about apes of eastern India told by the Indians could be assigned by classical

<sup>234</sup> *Vita Apollonii*, III, 4.

<sup>235</sup> *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature* (Westminster, 1901), p. 193.

<sup>236</sup> J. G. Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (new ed. by S. Birch, New York, 1878), I, pp. 381-382, fig. 158.

<sup>237</sup> *N. A.*, XVI, 21; they are mentioned by name also *N. A.*, XVI, 15.

<sup>238</sup> *H. N.*, VII, 24; cf. Solinus, 52, 32. This passage does not mean that the satyrs and the Choromandae are distinct as Yerkes thought following the mistranslation of Holland—R. M. and A. W. Yerkes, *The Great Apes* (New Haven, 1929), p. 4.

<sup>239</sup> Elliot, III, pp. 149-150, 160-161, 163.

<sup>240</sup> Elliot, III, 153-154.

authors to that part of India with which they were partially acquainted. The likeness to mythological satyrs need not interfere with the possibility that they are real animals. The stone-rolling of the animals is not characteristic. It seems to have crept in from an account given by Megasthenes of monkeys as stone-rollers.<sup>241</sup> In discussing that passage Ball suggested that the story applied to the Bengal macaque (*Pithecus rhesus*, Elliot, 305) and narrated a similar experience which happened to him, when these macaques rolled down rocks from a precipice.<sup>242</sup> Pliny twice mentions the satyri without any specific mention of habitat. These two passages probably apply to the gibbon, although there are some difficulties. In one passage the text is obscure, but the best solution seems to result in a statement that the satyr-apes are mild in disposition.<sup>243</sup> Solinus adds that they had pleasing faces, and were rapid and nervous in their movements.<sup>244</sup> Another passage in Pliny, which speaks of cheek-pouches, is inaccurate for the gibbon.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> *Fragm.*, 13 (*Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, ed. Mueller, II, 411) from Strabo, XV, 710.

<sup>242</sup> *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, series II, vol. II (no. 6, Jan., 1885), pp. 308-309. This ape may be meant under the name *τρύπος* in Theophrastus, *Char.*, XXI. The scholiast in the Paris ms. explains this as a Doric form of *σάρυπος* and defines it as an ape which has a short tail. The tail of this macaque is about a foot in length (Elliot, II, p. 214). Cf. also the scholiast *In Theocriti Idyll.*, III, 2 (*Scholia in Theocritum*, ed. Fr. Duebner, Paris, 1849).

<sup>243</sup> *H. N.*, VIII, 216. The text read in the second volume of the Teubner text edited by C. Mayhoff (Leipzig, 1909) is *efferatior cynocephalis natura sicut satyris*. But one ms. adds *mitissima* after *sicut* so that the original statement may have contrasted the two kinds of apes; cf. Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 47. The gibbon has a timid and mild disposition. Keller (*Thiere*, p. 18) considered the Indian *satyri* gibbons, but he erroneously thought that Pliny (*H. N.*, VIII, 216 *et al.*) referred to an African animal, which he considered a chimpanzee (*Thiere*, p. 17); cf. above, pp. 71-72. Yerkes (*op. cit.*, pp. 4, 47) says that Pliny may have known the gibbon.

<sup>244</sup> Solinus, 27, 60.

<sup>245</sup> *H. N.*, X, 199; cf. Elliot, III, p. 149.

Ctesias in his lost *Indica* gave a garbled second-hand account of Indian life. He collected his material while physician at the court of the Persian king at the end of the fifth century B. C. He was apparently gullible and is quite untrustworthy in his account of India.<sup>246</sup> Consequently his account of a race of dog-headed men in India must be examined with some scepticism. They were herders, wore skins, didn't speak, but understood the Indians, cooked their meat in the sun, sent dried fruit down the river, etc.<sup>247</sup> The story is undoubtedly not a product of the imagination, but the suggestion that has been made at times that these are anthropoid apes is quite impossible. Keller rather hesitantly suggested that these creatures might be gibbons.<sup>248</sup> Back of this story is some race of semi-savage humans.

#### SATYRS AND THE SPHINX

The *satyrus* has been noted as a kind of ape. The question arises then as to its relation to mythological satyrs. The view at times advanced that the bestial satyrs originated in stories of man-like apes is wholly erroneous. The opposite is true—the name *satyrus* was given to a kind of ape because it had already been used for the mythological creature.<sup>249</sup> Two literary references are of particular interest here. Pau-

<sup>246</sup> Cf. H. G. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-31. The classic statement of disbelief in Ctesias is in Lucian, *Vera historia*, I, 3.

<sup>247</sup> Ctesias, *Indica*, 20-23 (digested by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 72, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CIII, cols. 221-226). J. C. F. Baehr has a valuable note on this passage; *Ctesiae Onidii operum reliquiae*, Frankfurt, 1824. This passage is probably the source for later accounts of these creatures: Pliny, *H. N.*, VII, 23; Solinus, 52, 27; Aelian, *N. A.*, IV, 46; Isidorus, *Etymol.*, XI, 3, 15; Manuel Philes, *De animalium proprietate*, 1041-1050.

<sup>248</sup> *Thiere*, p. 18 (he cites only the passage in Aelian, but all the references are similar).

<sup>249</sup> A discussion of satyrs in general is not necessary here. Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, I, 8, 9) derives the word from *σάθη* ("phallus"). Cf. in general A. Hartmann in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Part II, III (Stuttgart, 1929), cols. 35-53, s. v. *Silenos und Satyros*.

sanias (on the authority Euphemus the Carian) tells of a voyage into the outer sea to the islands of the Satyrides. When the boat touched land, red-haired animals with horses tails rushed down to attack and seized and ravished a woman from the ship.<sup>250</sup> Frazer considered this a sailor's yarn by which Pausanias was deceived, and disapproved of the attempt by some authors to connect this incident with apes.<sup>251</sup> The creatures are so obviously patterned on mythical, lascivious satyrs that the story need not be taken seriously. The late and untrustworthy Philostorgius<sup>252</sup> is the author of the other statement. When writing about various oriental animals he mentions a group of apes,<sup>253</sup> and then gives an account of a Pan-like ape which the king of the Indians sent to Constantius. It had the head, face, horns and legs of a goat, the groin, belly, breast and hands of an ape. The animal died

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<sup>250</sup> I, 23, 5-6. Euphemus was apparently not an author, but a contemporary acquaintance of Pausanias.

<sup>251</sup> *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, ed. by Sir J. G. Frazer, II (2nd ed., London, 1913), p. 282. Buschor connected this story with some satyr-drama and suggested that in it the satyrs may have appeared as apes. He considered the scene on a white Athenian lecythus showing an ugly woman tied to a palm tree and tortured by five satyrs as a representation of this story. The connection seems most improbable. Buschor, "Die Affen-Inseln," *Ath. Mitt.*, LII (1927), pp. 230-234; cf. G. H. Beardsley, *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization* (Baltimore, 1929), p. 59, no. 111.

<sup>252</sup> He was born about 368 A. D. He wrote a *Historia ecclesiastica* with violent Arian prejudice and little regard for fact: cf. W. von Christ, W. Schmid and O. Staehlin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, II, II (6th ed., Munich, 1924), pp. 1433-1434 (par. 1050). There is a digest by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 40. Text in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXV, cols. 455-638.

<sup>253</sup> *Hist. eccl.*, III, 11 (Migne, *op. cit.*, LXV, cols. 496-497). The goat-ape (*αἰγοπῆθος*), the bear-apes (*ἀρκοπῆθοι*) and the lion-apes (*λεοντοπῆθοι*) may be species of apes (cf. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 19) but are probably due to the fancy of the author, a bit of coloring to give the narrative which follows verisimilitude. The apes as large as bears in the land the Babryces in Asia may be similar to these apes—they are noted by an equally untrustworthy author; pseudo-Callisthenes, *Historia Alexandri magni*, III, 21, 3.

before it reached Constantinople and its hide was preserved in salt. Philostorgius then concludes that the Greeks had seen this kind of animal and on it had patterned the satyrs. The very conclusion proves that the description is in the main a fake.<sup>254</sup>

In general however the view that satyrs were a development from apes is due not to any literary references, but to the representation of satyrs in Greek art, particularly in vase painting.<sup>255</sup> Two vase paintings containing particularly bestial satyrs have been used to show the ape-like character of these creatures. If these are not convincing the other representations would be even less so. The first is a Chalcidic cylix at Würzburg showing Phineus being attacked by the Harpies. In one section of the main scene two ithyphallic satyrs are creeping toward three nude women who are bathing. On the outside of the cup are four groups; in two, ithyphallic satyrs are pursuing Bacchantes, in two, satyrs are shown having intercourse with Bacchantes *more canino*. These creatures have beards, the ears of donkeys, equine tails and hooves, and hairy skin (the hair is marked by dots).<sup>256</sup> The second vase is a bell-crater from Gela now in the Museum at Palermo. Dionysus stands leaning on a thyrsus, to his right a bestial satyr stands with arms flung out, to his left a Maenad stretches out her arms to a satyr on all fours. These satyrs are bearded, have short arms, long legs, tails placed at

<sup>254</sup> Keller, *Thiere*, p. 17.

<sup>255</sup> Keller, *Thiere*, pp. 9 (connects them with dog-headed baboons), 16 (with anthropoids); E. Pottier, *Douris et les peintres des vases grecs* (Paris, 1911), pp. 88-89.

<sup>256</sup> *Annali*, XLVI (1874), pp. 175-184; *Mon. Ined.*, X (1874-78), pl. VIII; Boehlau, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXV (1900), pp. 40 ff., figs. 2-3; A. Furtwaengler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich, 1904 ff.), pl. 41; cf. particularly A. Rumpf, "Zur Gruppe der Phineusschale," *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVI (1921), pp. 157-191 (18 figures); *Chalkidische Vasen* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1927), no. 20, pls. 40-44; E. Langlotz, *Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universitaet Wuerzburg: Griechische Vasen* (Munich, 1932), no. 164, pls. 26-27.



the waist, and skins marked by dots and lines to show hair.<sup>257</sup> The creatures on these two vases certainly suggest animals, but just as certainly no one animal, particularly not the ape. If anthropoid apes which have no tails suggested this creature, the tails are incongruous. The hoofs and the ears are not simian. The legs are too long, the arms are too short, the beard is too heavy to suggest the ape. The one on the Gela crater on all fours is in a strained position with his hindquarters higher than his shoulders. All the details, whatever their origin, taken together mark the impossibility of considering these creatures apes or even similar to apes.

A few minor details in literature and art which might be used to connect satyrs and apes should be listed to see whether they confirm the above conclusion or not. In Egypt the baboon was often represented as ithyphallic, particularly when it was standing in the adorant attitude, but it is a question whether that is to be taken as a sign of the license of the animal or had some esoteric religious significance back of it. Aelian said that baboons were licentious, violating women and children.<sup>258</sup> He also says that the red apes of India are lustful, and for that reason are killed.<sup>259</sup> Timotheus makes the same statement about the monkey, probably confusing it with the baboon.<sup>260</sup> When Timotheus says that lynxes are loved by Apollo as are sphinxes (i. e. monkeys) by Diony-

<sup>257</sup> *Mon. Ant.*, XVII (1907), col. 509, pl. XLIV; Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, LII (1927), pp. 232-233, fig. 2. Buschor says the satyrs on this crater have been turned into apes.

<sup>258</sup> *N. A.*, VII, 19. Aelian in this passage says that Pindar marveled at this: in Schroeder's edition of Pindar, *Fragm.*, 201 (215). The statement in Strabo (XVII, 802) seems to imply that Pindar referred only to the goat of Mendes and not to baboons. Brehm says that these baboons are lustful; *Tierleben*, IV<sup>4</sup>, p. 574. The same idea is used in "The King's Daughter and the Ape" in the Arabian Nights: R. F. Burton, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (1885), IV, pp. 297-299; cf. Burton's note on a modern instance (p. 297).

<sup>259</sup> *N. A.*, XV, 14.

<sup>260</sup> *De animalibus*, 51 (ed. Haupt, *Hermes*, III, 1869, p. 28).

sus,<sup>261</sup> he is referring not to any connection between satyrs and monkeys, but to the animal's fondness for wine, a detail which he mentions a few chapters later.<sup>262</sup> One reference in the *Lucius* attributed to Lucian points to the ape as typical of an animal poorly equipped sexually. When Lucius was an ass a certain lady was desperately in love with him, but when he returned to human form and attempted to carry on the affair, she drove him out of her house after saying, "You have come to me changed from that beautiful and serviceable animal into an ape."<sup>263</sup>

In art a few objects show apes with exaggerated sexual attributes. Four terracotta figurines (30, 109, 164, 165) and one bronze figurine (195) portray ithyphallic apes. A Roman glass figure vase in Cologne represents an ape with a modelled phallus (464), but it is not ithyphallic as Kisa says when he argues that the ape was a symbol of Pan.<sup>264</sup> On two mosaics (487, 493), a relief (501) and a gem (594) are ithyphallic apes. Two other gems showing ithyphallic cynocephali are obviously Egyptian in design (591-592), the latter of these shows the cynocephalus masturbating.<sup>265</sup> Four terracotta figurines (33, 34, 68, 172) show monkeys standing with legs wide apart and with the tail stretched out to make a third support. This pose is an almost exact duplicate of the pose of two satyrs or satyr-actors represented in terracotta figurines in the British Museum.<sup>266</sup> This resem-

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*, 46 (*loc. cit.*, p. 26).

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, 52 (*loc. cit.*, p. 28).

<sup>263</sup> *Lucius sive asinus*, 55; cf. H. Licht, *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece* (tr. by J. H. Freese, London, 1932), pp. 158-160.

<sup>264</sup> A. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume* (Leipzig, 1908), III, p. 762.

<sup>265</sup> That this is practiced not only by apes but by other animals is noted in G. S. Hall, *Adolescence*, I (New York, 1907), p. 435. The caryatids of a chariot recently made at Pondicherry are in the form of masturbating monkeys: E. Lamairesse (ed. and transl.), *La Kama Soutra de Vatsyayana* (Paris, 1929), p. 96.

<sup>266</sup> H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1903), B23-24.

blance however merely points to the ape as a comic imitator. The pet ape which appears at the drinking bout between Hercules and Dionysus in the relief on a Roman flask seems to be a companion of Hercules rather than Dionysus (345).

The sum total of these literary and artistic references is surprisingly small. That the ape is so rarely mentioned or portrayed in such a way as to connect him with satyrs strengthens the conclusion that the story of Pausanias was only a sailor's fancy, that Philostorgius invented most of his tale and that any attempt to connect apes and satyrs is futile.

There was an African monkey called the sphinx. This animal was discussed above in the section on Ethiopia, where it was noted that Agatharchides said that it resembled the mythical sphinx.<sup>287</sup> Philostorgius in the same passage in which he discussed the satyrs comments on this creature, suggesting that the story of Oedipus and the sphinx originated in an incident involving this monkey. There is no necessity to investigate the real origin of the sphinx, whether Egyptian or Theban, but this suggestion should be examined.<sup>288</sup> Philostorgius said that he had seen a sphinx (i. e. the monkey). It was hairy, except the chest which was bare and had two breasts like a woman's. Around the bare section was a reddish line. The face resembled that of a woman, and the voice was human except that the sounds were not articulated. The animal was fierce, crafty and hard to tame. When this animal in former times was taken to Boeotian Thebes, it mangled certain Thebans, for which Oedipus killed it. The Greeks added the wings to their mythological monster because of its swiftness, the power of speaking in riddles because of its human voice and inarticulate sounds.<sup>289</sup> This description is somewhat similar to the description of the

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<sup>287</sup> Cf. above, pp. 67-68.

<sup>288</sup> For general accounts of the sphinx cf. J. Ilberg in Roscher, *Lexikon*, IV, cols. 1298-1408 (esp. cols. 1300, 1375), s. v. *Sphinx*; Herbig in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, Part II, III (Stuttgart, 1929), cols. 1703-1749, s. v. *Sphinx*.

<sup>289</sup> *Historia ecclesiastica*, III, 11.

African monkey called the sphinx, but three details given are exaggerated—i. e. the human quality of the breasts, the face and the voice. The fierceness, ascribed to it by Philostorgius, is a direct contradiction. All changes here introduced make the animal over into a prototype of the Boeotian sphinx. The conclusion must be that Philostorgius had not really seen the animal, that he probably had some garbled account which he reworked to suit himself, and that his explanation of the mythological story is pure fancy. It may be added that the Assyrians used the same word to designate the mythological monster and one kind of ape.<sup>270</sup>

#### THE HUNTING OF APES

In ancient times as in modern the two sources of real danger to apes were seizure by some member of the cat family or capture by men. It has been noted above that the story of the sick lion using the ape as medicine was based on the inability of old lions to cope with fiercer prey.<sup>271</sup> Eudemus said that the apes in Egypt escaped from cats by their agility in tree climbing—the scene of this anecdote should be Ethiopia, not Egypt, unless the reference is to pets imported into Egypt.<sup>272</sup> Aelian tells a story of the panther and apes in Mauretania. Since the panther is too heavy to follow apes in the trees, it plays dead. The apes send down a scout to see if it is really dead, and on receiving a favorable report all of them come down and jump on the panther, which seizes as many of the apes as it can.<sup>273</sup> This story is credible, but not the story that the panther attracts and captures apes and other animals by their pleasure at the odor of the panther.<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> B. Landsberger, *Abhandlungen der phil.- hist. klasse der saechsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, XLII, VI (1934), p. 88.

<sup>271</sup> Pp. 47-48.

<sup>272</sup> Quoted in Aelian, *N. A.*, V, 7.

<sup>273</sup> *N. A.*, V, 54. Cf. Manuel Philes, *De animalium proprietate*, 714.

<sup>274</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, 976D (*De sollertia animalium*, 24); Aelian,

In a late Latin poem the hostility of the lynx and the ape is partly the basis of making their union a type of the impossible.<sup>275</sup> In a Pompeian wall painting a tiger is fighting with an ape (one of the anthropoid apes?) (480). The knowledge that the cat family preyed on apes makes it probable that the head held by a pantheress on a Roman lamp from Cnidus is an ape's head (545).

Man was a more effective, but less deadly foe for apes. Two early Phoenicio-Cypriote silver vases show the pursuit and killing of a gorilla (329-330) and two references speak of tribes which ate apes,<sup>276</sup> but generally the object of the pursuit was capture rather than killing. The simplest means of capture was by snares—a proverb said that an old ape was not caught by a snare, but was finally caught.<sup>277</sup> The nature of the animal suggested other means for its capture. Like the elephant the ape was fond of wine, hence it was made drunk on wine and was then easily captured.<sup>278</sup> This method has been used by natives in modern times in the capture of chimpanzees.<sup>279</sup> Generally the hunters took advantage of the

N. A., VIII, 6. This idea occurs in T. S. Eliot's *Whispers of Immortality*: "The couched Brazilian jaguar / Compels the scampering marmoset / With subtle effluence of cat."

<sup>275</sup> Eucheria, *Anthologia Latina*, no. 390, line 20 (ed. Riese, Leipzig, 1869, I, I): cf. McDermott, *T. A. P. A.*, LXVII (1936), p. 156.

<sup>276</sup> Herodotus, IV, 194; Lucian, *Dipsas*, 2.

<sup>277</sup> Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum*, V, 93—the proverb was in a play *Parthenopaeus* written by Dionysius "the Renegade" (4th century B. C.) who for a joke said it was a play by Sophocles. The passage by Diogenes Laertius is quoted by A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1888), pp. 839-840, although these lines may mark it as a satyr-play. The proverb is also found in Apostolius, V, 37-37a (*Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum*, II, ed. Leutsch, Goettingen, 1851, p. 343) and Suidas, *Lex.*, s. v. *πίθηκος*.

<sup>278</sup> Aristotle, *Fragm.*, 107 (quoted from the *περί μέθης* by Athenaeus, *Deipn.*, X, 429d); Pliny, *H. N.*, XXIII, 44; Aelian, *Varia historia*, II, 40.

<sup>279</sup> R. M. and A. W. Yerkes, *The Great Apes* (New Haven, 1929), p. 229.

imitative character of the animal. Standing where the ape could see them they would wash in a basin of water, or put on a pair of trousers, or a pair of shoes, or look in a mirror, then they would leave behind them a basin filled with bird lime, trousers smeared with bird lime, shoes or a mirror fitted with nooses. The apes imitating the actions of the men were then captured.<sup>280</sup>

<sup>280</sup> Diodorus Siculus, XVII, 90, 1-3; Strabo, XV, 699; Pliny, *H. N.*, VIII, 215; Aelian, *N. A.*, XVII, 25; Timotheus, *De animalibus*, 51-52 (ed. Haupt, *Hermes*, III, 1869, pp. 27-28). Plutarch's statement that they were caught by imitating a man's dancing (*Moralia*, 52 B) is possible, but the text should probably read ὄρος instead of πύθκος (cf. *Moralia*, 705A, 961E).

## CHAPTER IV

### BIOLOGICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS KNOWLEDGE OF THE APE

Much of the material in the previous chapter might have been discussed in this chapter. However the uncertainty of much of the information about classification made the inclusion of certain material under geographical headings more satisfactory. In this chapter it is not possible for the author to speak on certain questions of biology and comparative anatomy, hence the information in Aristotle and Galen is given with comparatively little comment.

#### ARISTOTLE AND PLINY

Most of the purely biological, or more strictly the anatomical knowledge of the ape in ancient sources comes from Aristotle and Galen. Aristotle undoubtedly examined his specimens—and the description given is based not on reading but on first-hand knowledge. Pliny's information is largely culled from reading and there is little that is not in Aristotle so that his statements are not treated in detail.

The chief passage in Aristotle is given in full: <sup>1</sup>

8. Ἐνια δὲ τῶν ζώων ἐπαμφοτερίζει τὴν φύσιν τῷ τ' ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τοῖς τετράποσιν, οἷον πίθηκοι καὶ κῆβοι καὶ κυνοκέφαλοι. ἔστι δ' ὁ μὲν κῆβος πίθηκος ἔχων οὐράν. καὶ οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσι μορφὴν τοῖς πιθήκοις, πλὴν μείζονές τ' εἰσὶ καὶ ἰσχυρότεροι καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ἔχοντες κυνοειδέστερα, ἔτι δ' ἀγριώτερά τε τὰ ἦθη καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἔχουσι κυνοειδέστερους καὶ ἰσχυροτέρους. οἱ δὲ

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<sup>1</sup> *Historia animalium*, II, 8-9 (502 a-b). The text is that of L. Dittmeyer, *Aristotelis de animalibus historia* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 45-47. The translation is that of D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson in *The Works of Aristotle*, IV, Oxford, 1910, under the general editorship of J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross. Thompson used the text of Bekker, but in the two places where a text change made some difference in the translation followed Dittmeyer. The parenthetical letters in the translation refer to notes which follow it. The quotation is made by permission of the publisher.

πίθηκοι δασεῖς μὲν εἰσι τὰ πρηνῇ ὡς ὄντες τετράποδες, καὶ τὰ ὕπτια δ' ὡσαύτως ὡς ὄντες ἀνθρωποειδεῖς (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐναντίως ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τετραπόδων, καθάπερ ἐλέχθη πρότερον)· πλὴν ἢ γε θρὶξ παχεῖα, ὥστε δασεῖς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα σφόδρα εἰσὶν οἱ πίθηκοι. τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον ἔχει πολλὰς ὁμοιότητας τῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· καὶ γὰρ μυκτῆρας καὶ ὦτα παραπλήσια ἔχει, καὶ ὀδόντας ὥσπερ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τοὺς προσθίους καὶ τοὺς γομφίους. ἔτι δὲ βλεφαρίδας τῶν ἄλλων τετραπόδων ἐπὶ θάτερα οὐκ ἔχοντων οὗτος ἔχει μὲν λεπτὰς δὲ σφόδρα—καὶ μᾶλλον τὰς κάτω—καὶ μικρὰς ἀμπαν· τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα τετράποδα ταύτας οὐκ ἔχει. ἔτι δ' ἐν τῷ στήθει δύο θηλὰς μαστῶν μικρῶν. ἔχει δὲ καὶ βραχίονας ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος, πλὴν δασεῖς· καὶ κάμπτει καὶ τούτους καὶ τὰ σκέλη ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος, τὰς περιφερείας πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κώλων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις χεῖρας καὶ δακτύλους καὶ ὄνυχας ὁμοίους ἀνθρώπῳ, πλὴν πάντα ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ θηριωδέστερον. ἰδίους δὲ τοὺς πόδας· εἰσὶ γὰρ οἷον χεῖρες μεγάλαι, καὶ οἱ δάκτυλοι ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν χειρῶν, ὁ μέσος μακρότατος, καὶ τὸ κάτω τοῦ ποδὸς χειρὶ ὅμοιον, πλὴν ἐπιμηκέστερον τῆς χειρός, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τείνον, καθάπερ θέναρ· τοῦτο δ' ἐπ' ἄκρου σκληρότερον, κακῶς καὶ ἀμυδρῶς μιμούμενον πτέρνην. κέχρηται δὲ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐπ' ἄμφω, καὶ ὡς χερσὶ καὶ ὡς ποσὶ, καὶ συγκάμπτει ὥσπερ χεῖρας. ἔχει δὲ τὸν ἀγκῶνα καὶ τὸν μηρὸν βραχεῖς ὡς πρὸς τὸν βραχίονα καὶ τὴν κνήμην. ὀμφαλὸν δ' ἐξέχοντα μὲν οὐκ ἔχει, σκληρὸν δέ τι κατὰ τὸν τόπον τὸν τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ. τὰ δ' ἄνω τῶν κάτω πολὺ μείζονα ἔχει, ὥσπερ τὰ τετράποδα· σχεδὸν γὰρ ὡς πέντε πρὸς τρία ἐστί. καὶ διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς πόδας ἔχειν ὁμοίους χερσὶ καὶ ὡσπερανεὶ συγκειμένους ἐκ χειρὸς καὶ ποδός—ἐκ μὲν ποδὸς κατὰ τὸ τῆς πτέρνης ἔσχατον, ἐκ δὲ χειρὸς τὰλλα μέρη· καὶ γὰρ οἱ δάκτυλοι ἔχουσι τὸ καλούμενον θέναρ—διατελεῖ τὸν πλείω χρόνον τετράπουν ὃν μᾶλλον ἢ ὀρθόν· καὶ οὐτ' ἰσχία ἔχει ὡς τετράπουν ὃν οὔτε κέρκον ὡς δίπουν, πλὴν μικρὰν τὸ ὅλον, ὅσον σημείου χάριν. ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον ἢ θήλεια ὅμοιον γυναικί, ὃ δ' ἄρρην κυνωδέστερον ἢ ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

9. οἱ δὲ κῆβοι, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, ἔχουσι κέρκον. τὰ δ' ἐντὸς διαιρεθέντα ὅμοια ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώπῳ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα.

8. "Some animals share the properties of man and the quadrupeds, as the ape, the monkey, and the baboon (a). The monkey is a tailed ape. The baboon resembles the ape



in form, only that it is bigger and stronger, more like a dog in face, and is more savage in its habits, and its teeth are more dog-like and more powerful (b).

Apes are hairy on the back in keeping with their quadrupedal nature, and hairy on the belly in keeping with their human form—for, as was said above, this characteristic is reversed in man and the quadruped—only that the hair is coarse, so that the ape is thickly coated both on the belly and on the back. Its face resembles that of man in many respects; in other words, it has similar nostrils and ears, and teeth like those of man, both front teeth and molars (c). Further, whereas quadrupeds in general are not furnished with lashes on one of the two eyelids, this creature has them on both, only very thinly set, especially the under ones; in fact they are very insignificant indeed. And we must bear in mind that all other quadrupeds have no under eyelash at all.

The ape has also in its chest two teats upon poorly developed breasts (d). It has also arms like man, only covered with hair, and it bends these legs like man, with the convexities of both limbs facing one another. In addition, it has hands and fingers and nails like man, only that all these parts are somewhat more beast-like in appearance (e). Its feet are exceptional in kind. That is, they are like large hands, and the toes are like fingers, with the middle one the longest of all, and the under part of the foot is like a hand except for its length, and stretches out towards the extremities like the palm of the hand; and this palm at the after end is unusually hard, and in a clumsy obscure kind of way resembles a heel (f). The creature uses its feet either as hands or feet, and doubles them up as one doubles a fist. Its upper-arm and thigh are short in proportion to the forearm and the shin. It has no projecting navel, but only a hardness in the ordinary locality of the navel. Its upper part is much larger than its lower part, as is the case with quadrupeds; in fact, the proportion of the former to the latter is about as five to three. Owing to this circumstance and to the fact that its

feet resemble hands and are composed in a manner of hand and of foot: of foot in the heel extremity, of the hand in all else—for even the toes have what is called a ‘palm’:—for these reasons the animal is oftener to be found on all fours than upright. It has neither hips, inasmuch as it is a quadruped, nor yet a tail, inasmuch as it is a biped, except by the way that it has a tail as small as small can be, just a sort of indication of a tail (*g*). The genitals of the female resemble those of the female in the human species; those of the male are more like those of a dog than are those of a man (*h*).

9. The monkey, as has been observed, is furnished with a tail. In all such creatures the internal organs are found under dissection to correspond to those of man (*i*).”

Most of Pliny’s statements about the anatomy of apes are in one passage, hence a reference to Pliny means this passage unless a note is attached.<sup>2</sup> Aristotle’s statements are in the main true, but lack an account of the more minute variations. (a) This does not mean that apes form a transition between quadrupeds and men, but that many of the characteristics of both are to be found in apes. Aristotle never suggests that the primates had a common ancestry—Darwinian ideas of the origin of species had no part in the biology of Aristotle.<sup>3</sup> The ape (*πίθηκος*) is the Barbary ape (*Simia sylvanus*, Elliot 288), the baboon (*κυνοκέφαλος*) is the sacred ape of Egypt (*Papio hamadryas*, Elliot 275). The monkey (*κῆβος*) cannot be specifically identified, it might be an African mangabey or guenon, or an Asiatic langur or macaque. The very fact that so little distinction is made between the ape and the monkey may mean that Aristotle had at hand a Barbary ape but no monkey. The word *κῆβος* was not strictly used for an ape with a tail by all authors, some preferred *κερκοπίθηκος*, which has the virtue of showing its meaning by its composition. (b) The distinction that Aristotle makes between the

<sup>2</sup> *H. N.*, XI, 246.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. T. E. Lones, *Aristotle’s Researches in Natural Science* (London, 1912), p. 82.

teeth of the cynocephalus and other species is too sharply defined to be accurate. Other apes have dog-like teeth.<sup>4</sup> (c) The teeth of an old-world adult ape number thirty-two, as in man, and are quite similar.<sup>5</sup> The likeness in feature is over-emphasized, especially so, since Aristotle was unfamiliar with anthropoid apes.<sup>6</sup> Pliny exaggerates this resemblance when he speaks of a perfect imitation of man. (d) Pectoral mammae are the rule with old-world primates.<sup>7</sup> (e) All old-world primates have flat nails on all digits.<sup>8</sup> Pliny adds that the middle digit is the longest. Pliny also remarks that the nails of apes are ridged.<sup>9</sup> (f) These statements about the hindpaws are quite accurate.<sup>10</sup> (g) This statement is given by Aristotle elsewhere.<sup>11</sup> The lack of buttocks in the ape is noted by Simonides of Amorgus who in speaking of that evil woman who is like an ape calls her *ἄπυρος* ("without a rump").<sup>12</sup> (h) The genital organs of female apes bear a resemblance to those of humans, but this resemblance is not so striking as Aristotle thought.<sup>13</sup> (i) This was the general belief in ancient times, and led to a great many anatomical errors for Galen and others, when too great similarity was assumed.

The only other references in Aristotle that touch on the anatomy of apes are a remark preceding the quoted chapters, to the effect that he will discuss later which apes have tails,<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. C. F. Sonntag, *The Morphology and Evolution of the Apes and Man* (London, 1924), pp. 51-53.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Pliny, *H. N.*, XI, 165. Cf. Elliot, I, p. xvii.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Sonntag, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-53 and Lones, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

<sup>7</sup> Sonntag, *op. cit.*, p. 50; cf. T. D. Stewart in *The Anatomy of the Rhesus Monkey* (Baltimore, 1933), pp. 33-35.

<sup>8</sup> Sonntag, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> *H. N.*, XI, 247.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. a plate showing forepaws and hindpaws of various apes in Brehm, *Tierleben*, IV<sup>4</sup>, opp. p. 424.

<sup>11</sup> *De partibus animalium*, IV, 10 (689b).

<sup>12</sup> *Fragm.*, 7, 76 (Bergk, *Poetae lyrii Graeci*, II, p. 742), cf. Archilochus, *Fragm.*, 91 (*ibid.*, II, p. 709).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Sonntag, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>14</sup> *H. A.*, II, 1 (498b).

and mention of the "pig-ape" (χοιροπίθηκος) which cannot be identified.<sup>15</sup> The animals so labelled in the Praenestine mosaic are not apes but pigs (485). The really surprising omissions in Aristotle's account are two—he does not mention the ischial callosities or the cheek-pouches, both of which are present in many species of apes.<sup>16</sup> Pliny mentions the latter.<sup>17</sup> Pliny also has a few other inconsequential remarks to make about the number of species, and the legs, tails and digits of the animal.<sup>18</sup> That Aristotle did not know the anthropoid apes is supported by his statement that only man has a wide chest.<sup>19</sup>

#### GALEN

Claudius Galenus in the second century A. D. was not only a medical doctor and teacher but also the first real experimental physiologist.<sup>20</sup> Much of his research was based on the dissection of apes, pigs, bears and other animals, because dissection of the human body was rarely permitted. Rufus of Ephesus had dissected apes before Galen.<sup>21</sup> Assuming as he did that the internal structure of man was the same as that of the apes he made many mistakes in anatomy—mistakes which due to the enormous authority his works attained were not pointed out until Vesalius (1514-1564) proved that his dependence on non-human dissection had led him astray.<sup>22</sup> All of Galen's anatomical works contain statements which are drawn from the ape, but it is not in the province of this monograph to investigate this. However quite often he refers

<sup>15</sup> *H. A.*, II, 11 (503a).

<sup>16</sup> Sonntag, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 56.

<sup>17</sup> *H. N.*, X, 199.

<sup>18</sup> *H. N.*, VIII, 215; XI, 249, 264; XXIII, 44.

<sup>19</sup> *H. A.*, II, 1, (497b).

<sup>20</sup> For an account of Galen from the medical point of view cf. F. H. Garrison, *An Introduction to the History of Medicine* (4th ed., Philadelphia, 1929), pp. 112-117.

<sup>21</sup> C. Singer in *The Legacy of Greece* (Oxford, 1924), p. 184.

<sup>22</sup> H. O. Taylor, *Greek Biology and Medicine* (Boston, 1922), p. 124.

definitely to this animal. It has been generally assumed that he dissected the Barbary ape,<sup>23</sup> but, although this seems true in general, the actual facts are more complicated as will be seen below. It is, of course, perfectly possible that some of his statements were drawn from his reading, rather than from notes on actual dissection, but in most cases his observations have the ring of first-hand statements. No extracts are given here since the passages in question are somewhat lengthy and since in many cases they are so verbose that it seems better to give statements about the contents than to quote. All of the references to be given include a citation of the page and volume in Kuehn's monumental edition.<sup>24</sup> For the convenience of those wishing to check quickly over the references, all places where the ape is mentioned in Galen are summarized in a note.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Keller, *Thiere*, p. 8; Singer, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Garrison, *op. cit.*, p. 114; T. E. Lones, *Aristotle's Researches in Natural Science* (London, 1912), p. 262.

<sup>24</sup> *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, 20 volumes (in 22 parts), ed. C. G. Kuehn, Leipzig, 1821-33—the text and a Latin translation. Many of the references are to the *De usu partium* for which cf. *Galenus de usu partium libri XVII*, 2 vols., ed. G. Helmreich, Leipzig, 1907-1909.

<sup>25</sup> *De anatomicis administrandis*, I, 2 (II, p. 219, ed. Kuehn) (a general statement on the similarity of apes and men); I, 2 (II, pp. 222-223) (a general account of the ape's anatomy); II, 8 (II, pp. 322-323) (the foot); III, 6 (II, pp. 385-386); III, 9 (II, p. 396) (hand); IV, 1 (II, p. 416) (hand and leg); IV, 2 (II, p. 423); IV, 3 (II, pp. 429-430) (jaw); IV, 4 (II, p. 440) (jaw); IV, 5 (pp. 443-444); VI, 1 (II, pp. 532-536) (the most elaborate account of the ape's anatomy); VI, 3 (II, pp. 545, 548); VI, 5 (II, p. 556) (peritoneum); *De nervorum dissectione*, 11 (II, p. 845) (neck); *De usu partium*, I, 22 (III, pp. 79-81) (hand); III, 8 (III, pp. 208-210) (hand and leg); III, 16 (III, p. 264) (leg); XI, 2 (III, 844-845, 847) (general structure and jaw); XII, 11 (IV, pp. 126-128) (general structure); XV, 8 (IV, pp. 251-252) (hand and leg); *De locis affectis*, V, 2 (VIII, p. 303) (heart membrane); *In Hippocratis de articulis librum commentarii*, III, 38 (XVIII, A, p. 536) (chest); III, 45 (XVIII, A, pp. 547-548) (neck and backbone); *In Hippocratis prognosticum commentarii*, III, 7 (XVIII, B, p. 236); *In*

A number of comments occur which are not strictly anatomical. In one place he remarks that the simian likeness to man is a comic imitation, and that a sculptor or painter who wished to portray a laughable hand could do no better than portray the ape's.<sup>26</sup> Twice he refers to apes as the pets of boys.<sup>27</sup> Like any good teacher he from time to time urges students not to rely just on the text but to practice dissection of apes.<sup>28</sup> The apes used for dissection should be drowned, instead of strangled, so that the specimen won't be injured.<sup>29</sup> In his account of substitutes which can be used in drugs he speaks of the bile of an ape.<sup>30</sup> Twice he speaks of *καλλίας* used as the name for apes by euphemism.<sup>31</sup>

The question of the species of apes known to Galen arises. He uses five names: *πίθηκος*, *λύγξ*, *σάτυρος*, *κυνοκέφαλος*, *κῆβος*. The first of these is the one used most extensively, but the others will be discussed first. The *lynx* has not generally been considered a kind of ape; in most places where the word is used it means a member of the cat family, but in Pliny it is used in combination with the word *sphinx* which is definitely a kind of monkey.<sup>32</sup> In three passages Galen lists a group of animals which are similar: after man those animals which

*Hippocratis de fracturis librum commentarii*, III, 51 (XVIII, B, pp. 610-611); *De musculorum dissectione ad tirones* (XVIII, B, p. 977) (elbow); *De succedaneis* (XIX, p. 747).

<sup>26</sup> *De usu partium*, I, 22 (III, pp. 79-81); cf. also III, 8 (III, p. 208); III, 16 (III, p. 264); XIII, 11 (IV, pp. 126-127); XV, 8 (IV, p. 252) and *De anat. adm.*, IV, 1 (II, p. 416).

<sup>27</sup> *De usu partium*, I, 22 (III, p. 80) (this contains an echo of Pindar, *Pyth.*, II, 72-73); III, 16 (III, p. 264).

<sup>28</sup> *De anat. adm.*, I, 2 (II, p. 223); III, 6 (II, pp. 385-386); III, 9 (II, p. 396); VI, 1 (II, pp. 535-536).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 2 (II, p. 423).

<sup>30</sup> *De succedaneis* (XIX, p. 747). Celsus prescribes the use of the excrement of an ape for a poultice for malignant tumors, *De medicina*, V, 18, 15.

<sup>31</sup> In *Hippocratis prognosticum commentarii*, III, 7 (XVIII, B, p. 236); In *Hippocratis de fracturis librum commentarii*, III, 51 (XVIII, B, p. 611). Cf. below, pp. 132-133.

<sup>32</sup> *H. N.*, VIII, 72; cf. above, p. 72.

have the shortest jaw are the ape, the lynx, the satyr and the cynocephalus, which animals also have necks and collar bones like men;<sup>33</sup> the ape, the cynocephalus, the satyr and the lynx have comparatively wide chests and five digits;<sup>34</sup> the ape, the lynx, the cebus and the cynocephalus have small jaws and weak temporal muscles, although the cynocephalus has a longer jaw and stronger temporal muscles than the others.<sup>35</sup> In the second and third of these passages the animals mentioned are specifically contrasted with those animals which have sharp or serrated teeth (for example the lion). The second of these passages is twice referred to, and in both places the statement reads "apes and apelike animals."<sup>36</sup> The inference is inescapable that the lynx was an ape, probably one with a tail. As there is no further specific information given it cannot be assigned to any genus or species. *Satyrus* was used as a name for a kind of Indian ape by Pliny, Aelian and Solinus—above it has been identified as a gibbon.<sup>37</sup> However Galen surely used the name for a monkey of unidentifiable species. In the third of the passages cited, the cebus is substituted for and is obviously a synonym for the satyr. There is no doubt that this cebus is a monkey, not the gibbon.<sup>38</sup> Further information is given by Galen about the cynocephalus, or dog-headed baboon. It has a longer snout, more doglike teeth, can scarcely stand on its hind legs, its bones are less like those of man than the ape's, it has a short thumb, in short it is closer to a dog than the ape is and farther from a man.<sup>39</sup> One reference shows some confusion in nomenclature—after stating that the ape has a very short *os*

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<sup>33</sup> *De anatom. adm.*, IV, 3 (II, p. 430).

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 1 (II, p. 535).

<sup>35</sup> *De usu partium*, XI, 2 (III, pp. 844, 847).

<sup>36</sup> *De anat. adm.*, VI, 3 (II, pp. 545, 548).

<sup>37</sup> Pp. 77-78.

<sup>38</sup> That Galen dissected a gibbon is accepted in R. M. and A. W. Yerkes, *The Great Apes* (New Haven, 1929), p. 47.

<sup>39</sup> *De anatom. adm.*, I, 2 (II, pp. 222-223); IV, 3 (II, p. 430); VI, 1 (II, pp. 534-535); *De usu partium*, XI, 2 (III, pp. 844-845).

*coccygis*, Galen says that some apes show a long coccyx (i. e. a rudimentary tail) and some even have a tail, approaching the cynocephalus in appearance.<sup>40</sup> Presumably Galen had been confused by suddenly seeing a species that did not fit his crude classification—what this species was cannot be determined.

Galen's ape (*πίθηκος*) is surely the Barbary ape from the coast of north Africa (*Simia sylvanus*, Elliot 287). This has been questioned from time to time. Camper found that the organs of voice as described by Galen did not match those which he found in dissecting a cynocephalus. Later he dissected five East Indian ourang-utans and found that they agreed with Galen's description. His conclusion was that Galen had dissected the Asiatic anthropoid ape.<sup>41</sup> Lichtenstein very definitely identified in the ape of Galen the chimpanzee (*Pan*, Elliot 572-585).<sup>42</sup> Certain phrases used by Galen, at first glance, seems to verify this identification: the perfect ape,<sup>43</sup> the ape most similar to man,<sup>44</sup> the most manlike of apes.<sup>45</sup> However the evidence of Camper is inconclusive, since Galen in that section does not say that he obtained his information from dissecting an ape, and at no place can this be proved except where he specifically says that such is the case. The ape was by no means Galen's sole basis of information—he dissected other animals, obtained information from the books of his predecessors, and he may even, at times, have been able to examine human bodies. Moreover he might even have made

<sup>40</sup> *De anatom. adm.*, VI, 1 (II, pp. 533-534).

<sup>41</sup> His account is reported in Yerkes, *op. cit.*, p. 6, who accepts this as the first definite scientific acquaintance with anthropoids in ancient times. Cf. Galen, *De usu partium*, VII, 1-4 (III, pp. 516-525).

<sup>42</sup> *Commentatio philologica de simiarum—formis*, etc. (Hamburg, 1791), pp. 23-26, 72-73.

<sup>43</sup> *De anatom. adm.*, VI, 1 (II, p. 534).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 2 (II, p. 222); VI, 1 (II, p. 535); *De usu partium*, XI, 2 (III, p. 844).

<sup>45</sup> *De anatom. adm.*, I, 2 (II, p. 223).



a mistake in his report. The statement of Lichtenstein can best be refuted by negative evidence. The statements of Galen are comparative—the ape was the one which he knew that was most similar to man. All the statements Galen made, which are digested in the next paragraph, fit the Barbary ape at least as well as the chimpanzee. He never makes a statement which could apply only to the chimpanzee.<sup>46</sup>

Galen said that the similarity of the bone structure of the ape and man showed that the musculature was similar too.<sup>47</sup> He said that men who had examined the bodies of boys who died of exposure were convinced that the ape and man have similar anatomy.<sup>48</sup> However the ape is neither a complete biped like man nor a complete quadruped.<sup>49</sup> It walks on two legs, but with difficulty, as the socket of the hip is not squarely placed, and the musculature of the leg is not entirely suited for walking, but it climbs easily.<sup>50</sup> Its face is rounded,<sup>51</sup> it has short, canine teeth,<sup>52</sup> its jaw is longer than that of man but shorter than that of other animals,<sup>53</sup> its temporal muscles are weaker than those of any other animal.<sup>54</sup> This last detail

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<sup>46</sup> The fact that Galen does not mention cheek-pouches and ischial callosities which the Barbary ape has and the chimpanzee does not, proves nothing since he is interested chiefly in similarities rather than in dissimilarities. For pouches and callosities cf. Gregory and MacGregar in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed., London and New York), XVIII, pp. 488-490, s. v. *Primates*.

<sup>47</sup> *De anatom. adm.*, I, 2 (II, p. 219).

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 6 (II, p. 386).

<sup>49</sup> *De usu partium*, XIII, 11 (IV, p. 126); XV, 8 (IV, p. 251).

<sup>50</sup> *De anatom. adm.*, I, 2 (II, pp. 219, 222-223); II, 8 (II, p. 416); VI, 1 (II, p. 533); *De usu partium*, III, 8 (III, pp. 209-210); III, 16 (III, p. 264); XI, 2 (III, pp. 844-845); XIII, 11 (IV, pp. 126-127); XV, 8 (IV, pp. 251-252).

<sup>51</sup> *De anatom. adm.*, I, 2 (II, p. 119); VI, 1 (II, pp. 532-533); *De usu partium*, XI, 2 (III, p. 844).

<sup>52</sup> *De anatom. adm.*, I, 2 (II, p. 222); VI, 1 (II, pp. 532-533); *De usu partium*, XI, 2 (III, p. 844).

<sup>53</sup> *De anatom. adm.*, IV, 3 (II, p. 430); IV, 4 (II, p. 440).

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 1 (II, p. 533); *De usu partium*, XI, 2 (III, pp. 844-845).

is particularly interesting, because this muscle which controls the lower jaw is powerful in all of the anthropoid apes.<sup>55</sup> The neck is shorter than in any other animals, and is very similar to man's.<sup>56</sup> The shoulder blade and collar bone are similar, but the upper arm is not set in the socket in the same way as is the case in man.<sup>57</sup> The vertebrae are similar to those of man, but in the lower part of the spine it is like the quadrupeds in having one more vertebra.<sup>58</sup> The chest is wider than that of any other animals, but narrower than that of man.<sup>59</sup> The forepaws are hands; although the thumb is poorly developed, the use of these is the main reason for its climbing ability.<sup>60</sup> The feet are like hands with digits larger than the toes of man, the heel is rudimentary, the sole is almost like the palm of the hand.<sup>61</sup> The muscles of the elbow allow it to bend as does that of man.<sup>62</sup> Its buttocks are not fleshy as are those of man, but are like those of quadrupeds.<sup>63</sup> Apes have a larger peritoneum than any other animal and consequently are the only beast to suffer hernia.<sup>64</sup> When an ape, killed for dissection has been allowed to stand, the heart

<sup>55</sup> C. F. Sonntag, *The Morphology and Evolution of the Apes and Man* (London, 1924), p. 166.

<sup>56</sup> *De nervorum dissectione*, 11 (II, p. 845); *De anatom. adm.*, I, 2 (II, p. 219); IV, 3 (II, p. 429).

<sup>57</sup> *De usu partium*, XIII, 11 (IV, p. 126).

<sup>58</sup> *Hippocratis de articulis liber et in eum commentarii*, III, 45 (XVIII, A, pp. 547-548).

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 38 (XVIII, A, p. 536); *De anatom. adm.*, I, 2 (II, p. 219); VI, 1 (II, p. 535); *De usu partium*, XI, 2 (III, p. 844).

<sup>60</sup> *De anatom. adm.*, I, 2 (II, p. 219); III, 9 (II, p. 396); IV, 1 (II, p. 416); VI, 1 (II, pp. 532-533); *De usu partium*, I, 22 (III, pp. 79-81); III, 8 (III, pp. 208-209); XV, 8 (IV, p. 252). The poorly developed thumb suits the guereza better than the Barbary ape; cf. Elliot, I, p. xxvi.

<sup>61</sup> *De anatom. adm.*, I, 2 (II, p. 223); II, 8 (II, pp. 322-323); VI, 1 (II, pp. 532-533); *De usu partium*, III, 8 (III, pp. 208-210); XV, 8 (IV, pp. 251-252).

<sup>62</sup> *De musculorum dissectione ad tirones* (XVIII, B, p. 977).

<sup>63</sup> *De usu partium*, III, 8 (III, p. 209); XV, 8 (IV, p. 252).

<sup>64</sup> *De anatom. adm.*, VI, 5 (II, p. 556).

membrane is enlarged.<sup>65</sup> In general the ape has shorter and thinner hair than the animals less like man.<sup>66</sup> For the structure of the eye the ape need not be used, since a larger animal will do as well.<sup>67</sup>

#### MISCELLANEOUS ANCIENT NOMENCLATURE

There is a varied list of nomenclature in the grammarians and glossaries which adds very little to our general knowledge. A short digest of this will be sufficient. The Latin shorthand notes which went under the name of Tiro include five names for apes: *simia*, *cynocephalus*, *pithecus* (Greek), *cercopithecus*, *cerdo* (? *cercops*).<sup>68</sup> The scholiast on Prudentius lists three kinds of apes: *cercopithecus*, *sphinx*, *sine cauda* (i. e. *simia*).<sup>69</sup> Polemius Silvius, drawing on the *Prata* of Suetonius, lists *sfnx* (*sphinx*), *simius*, *circopiticus* (*cercopithecus*), *callitrix*, *satiriscus*.<sup>70</sup> The Glossaries<sup>71</sup> contain various definitions: *simia*, *πίθηκος*; <sup>72</sup> *clura*, an ape with a tail; <sup>73</sup> *cercopithecus*, an ape with a tail; <sup>74</sup> *callithrix*, an ape with beard.<sup>75</sup> *Cynocephalus*

<sup>65</sup> *De locis affectis*, V, 2 (VIII, p. 303).

<sup>66</sup> *De anatom. adm.*, VI, 1 (II, p. 553).

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 5 (II, pp. 443-444).

<sup>68</sup> *Commentarii notarum Tironianarum*, ed. G. Schmitz (Leipzig, 1883), pls. 108, nos. 98-100; 109, nos. 1-2 (the text is very corrupt).

<sup>69</sup> *Ad Prudentium contra Symmachum*, II, 868 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LX, col. 248). The text is corrupted to *spina* in the case of the second name.

<sup>70</sup> *Laterculus*, III (*C. Suetoni Tranquilli praeter Caesarum libros reliquiae*, ed. A. Reifferscheid, Leipzig, 1860, p. 258).

<sup>71</sup> *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*, edited by G. Loewe and G. Goetz, 7 vols., Leipzig, 1888-1923.

<sup>72</sup> *C. G. L.*, II, p. 184, 9; p. 407, 48; p. 520, 26; p. 541, 51; III, p. 18, 53; p. 90, 68; p. 189, 41; p. 259, 34 (*πίθηξ*); p. 320, 37; p. 361, 64; p. 502, 28; p. 573, 16; IV, p. 144, 5.

<sup>73</sup> *C. G. L.*, II, p. 102, 11, 14; p. 348, 23; p. 492, 57; p. 518, 16; p. 573, 26; III, p. 484, 31; V, p. 15, 44 (Placidus); p. 55, 29 (Placidus); p. 180, 13 (Placidus); p. 618, 3. Plautus, *Truculentus*, 269, uses the adjectival form, *clurinum pecus*.

<sup>74</sup> *C. G. L.*, IV, p. 219, 26; V, p. 494, 46.

<sup>75</sup> *C. G. L.*, V, p. 564, 27; p. 594, 12.

*phalus* is defined not as baboon, but as a dog-headed man.<sup>76</sup> One reference is of particular interest *phitecus capa* (*apa*).<sup>77</sup> Festus defines *cercolopis* as an ape which has the tip of its tail hairy.<sup>78</sup> Festus also derives the name *clura* from *clunes triti*, a doubtful derivation, but one which may reflect a knowledge of the ischial callosities of the ape, which are not mentioned in any other place in classical literature.<sup>79</sup> Hesychius defines *κέβλος* as a *cynocephalus* or *cepus*, *κῆπος* as being similar to an ape, *βάτης* ("one who mounts") as an ape.<sup>80</sup> The last name may be connected with the training of an ape as a rider, or may reflect its sexual activity.

The Greek for cynocephalus is sometimes spelt in Attic with two lambdas.<sup>81</sup> Photius said that Eunapius spoiled his style by the use of such words as *πιθηκώδεις*.<sup>82</sup> The gender of *simia* (common) is discussed by the grammarians.<sup>83</sup> The Greek *πίθηκος* is connected with *πείθω*,<sup>84</sup> and the Latin *simia* is derived from *simus* ("snub-nosed").<sup>85</sup> According to Aelian the young of apes are called *πιθηκιδεῖς*.<sup>86</sup> In a thirteenth century poem on the names of animals there are interlinear notes which equate *simia* and *aph*, *spinga* and *merchazze*.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>76</sup> *C. G. L.*, IV, p. 35, 14; p. 219, 31; p. 495, 43.

<sup>77</sup> *C. G. L.*, V, p. 382, 57.

<sup>78</sup> Paulus, *Epitome Festi*, 54. Keller (*Thiere*, p. 12) thought this might be the gelada baboon.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>80</sup> *Lex.*, s. v. *κέβλος*, *κῆπος*, *βάτης*.

<sup>81</sup> Aristophanes, *Equites*, 416; Phrynichus, *Epitome*, s. v. *κυνοκέφαλλος* (ed. de Borries, p. 85, 5-6, cf. also p. 174, 7); Photius, *Lex.*, s. v. *κυνοκέφαλλος* (ed. Naber, p. 359).

<sup>82</sup> *Bibliotheca*, cod. 77 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CIII, col. 245).

<sup>83</sup> Charisius, *Ars grammatica*, I, 108; Beda, *De orthographia* (Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, VII, p. 291, 14); Caper (?), *De dubiis nominibus* (Keil, *op. cit.*, V, p. 591, 7-8); Sergius (?), *Explanationum in artem Donati liber* (Keil, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 494, 27-28).

<sup>84</sup> *Etymologicum magnum*, 671, 47.

<sup>85</sup> Servius, *Ad Bucol.*, X, 7; *C. G. L.*, V, p. 244, 30; Isidorus, *Etymol.*, XII, 2, 30.

<sup>86</sup> *N. A.*, VII, 47.

<sup>87</sup> J. A. Schmeller (ed.), *Carmina Burana* (2nd ed., Breslau, 1883), no. 97, p. 176, l. 30.

## CLASSIFICATION

References to apes in ancient literature and representations of apes in ancient art are on the whole comparatively indefinite. Many authors and most artists cared little about the kind of accuracy which would enable identification of a particular reference or a particular object of art as one species of ape. In many cases the locality is the main clue, hence detailed discussion has already been given in this monograph. Where this discussion has ended in some definite conclusion, a cross-reference will be given at the appropriate place in this section. Particularly in the field of art the difficulty of making any specific classification is so great that it is better to include a description but not to cite a species, since such a citation would generally be pure guesswork. In this monograph the word "ape" is used as a general term and as a term where the reference is to the tail-less animal; the word "monkey" has been used in general for apes with tails; more restricted words, such as "langur," "gibbon," "guenon" and so forth, are used only when speaking in particular places where reference to apes in ancient times seems to indicate these generic names. In the case of the dog-headed, hamadryas baboon the animal has sometimes been called "dog-headed baboon," but more often "cynocephalus," as that is a word formed on the ancient name of the animal, and one quite generally used by Egyptologists and classical scholars for that animal.

Any attempt to divide all the references in literature in accordance with the elaborate modern classification is out of the question. An attempt was made in the late eighteenth century to do this. A. A. H. Lichtenstein in a monograph on the apes tried to classify ancient references in accordance with the systems of his day, especially that of Linnaeus.<sup>88</sup> Much

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<sup>88</sup> *Commentatio philologica de simiarum quotquot veteribus innotuerunt formis earumque nominibus pro specimine methodi qua historia naturalis veterum ad systema naturae Linnaeanum exigenda atque adornanda*, Hamburg, 1791, pp. 1-80.

valuable information is collected there, and there are some brilliant suggestions, but many references were classified regardless of the fact that the information in the ancient author was inadequate for such classification. Certain mistakes were made because of the limitations of the knowledge of apes in his day.

Modern studies of animals from the time of Gesner and Aldrovandi have given references to the comments about apes in ancient authors, but in most cases their references are of no value here because they say nothing that cannot be better found out by checking the ancient references. The starting point for any study of this sort is the chapter on apes in Otto Keller's account of ancient animals.<sup>89</sup> Over half of it is concerned with classification. Much of that classification is in general agreement with the conclusions here.<sup>90</sup> Throughout this monograph the nomenclature of Elliot has been followed.<sup>91</sup> Elliot's classification is widely used, and it is desirable to have one standard set of names. Moreover the comprehensive index of Latin names in the third volume of Elliot's work, is invaluable in checking the varying terminology of different writers.

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<sup>89</sup> *Thiere des Classischen Altertums in Culturgeschichtlicher Beziehung* (Innsbruck, 1887), pp. 1-19 (cited throughout as Keller, *Thiere*). The first chapter of his *Die antike Tierwelt*, I (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 1-11 adds little to his earlier account.

<sup>90</sup> The chief exceptions taken are that he has included too many references under the Hanuman langur (pp. 9-11); his identification of the yellow baboon (pp. 11-12) and the gelada baboon (p. 12) is not certain; details in the sections on anthropoid apes are incorrect (pp. 14-18).

<sup>91</sup> D. G. Elliot, *A Review of the Primates, Monographs of the American Museum of Natural History*, I-III, New York, 1913. Wherever the scientific name has been given in the text or notes it has been followed by the name Elliot and the species number as listed in Elliot, I, pp. xlv-lxvii. In this introductory list in Elliot each name is followed by a cross-reference to the discussion of the species. This number does not always correspond to the numbers listed in the table of geographical distribution (*ibid.*, pp. lxxv-cv). These volumes are regularly cited in the notes as Elliot, I, etc.

In ancient times the classification was simple, though inaccurate. They referred to apes, baboons and monkeys. The classification which is given below follows that: 1. The Barbary ape, 2. The hamadryas baboon, 3. Monkeys (a) African, (b) Asiatic, 4. Anthropoid apes, 5. Miscellaneous.

1. The Barbary ape (*Simia sylvanus*, Elliot, 287).<sup>92</sup> To this ape the Greeks applied the word *πίθηκος* (*πίθακος*, *πίθηξ*, *πίθων*), the Romans *simia* (*simius* and *simiolus*). Unfortunately the mere use of these words does not show a Barbary ape. The words were quite frequently used as a general term, just as we use the word "ape," and it was used inaccurately at times. This is the ape most generally known in Greece and especially in Rome. Native to the coast of north Africa it was exported in large numbers to the other parts of the Mediterranean world.<sup>93</sup> This was the model for the numerous Etruscan art objects portraying apes, and this ape is meant by the Etruscan word *ἄριμος*.<sup>94</sup> This ape was the one dissected by Galen, and described by Aristotle.<sup>95</sup>

2. The hamadryas baboon (*Papio hamadryas*, Elliot, 275).<sup>96</sup> Greek, *κυνοκέφαλος*; Latin *cynocephalus*. This is the sacred Egyptian animal, its native habitat is in Abyssinia. Knowledge of it soon spread to the classical world, but it was never imported into the Mediterranean world in large numbers except to Egypt. It was described, although not in detail, by Aristotle and Galen.<sup>97</sup> Keller's attempt to identify any other baboons (such as the gelada and the yellow baboons) in classical art and literature is without value because of the scantiness of the evidence.<sup>98</sup>

3. Monkeys, Greek, *κερκοπίθηκος*, *κέρκωψ*, *κῆβος*, *κῆπος*, *σφίγξ*

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 8.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. above, pp. 55-59.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. above, pp. 28-34, 63-65.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. above, pp. 97-100, 88-92.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Keller, *Thiere*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. above, pp. 6-11, 34-46, 49-50, 66-67, 88-92, 96.

<sup>98</sup> *Thiere*, pp. 11-12.

(σφιγγία), σάτυρος (τίτυπος); Latin, *callithrix*, *cercolopis*, *cercops*, *cercopithecus*, *clura* (*clurinum pecus*), *satyrus*, *sphingion*, *sphinx*. In the representation of the ape in art the presence of a tail marks a monkey, and in the majority of cases that is about all that can be said as to classification. Even there, there is a possible exception—the artists, who were not concerned in making a faithful portrait from which the species could be determined, may in some cases have omitted the tail for artistic reasons—this is quite possible, for example in the formalized theriomorphic alabastra made at Corinth (409-456). In literary references, unless there is some specific information about geographical origin, it is dangerous to be dogmatic about such a simple matter as to whether the animal is Asiatic or African. However it is highly probable that most of the monkeys known to, and represented by the ancient classical people were African. Undoubtedly the proportion of African monkeys imported into the Mediterranean was far larger than the proportion of Asiatic monkeys. In some cases the information contains some very definite clue to closer classification, if not by species, at least by genus.

(a) African monkeys.<sup>99</sup> Guenons were undoubtedly imported and represented by the Egyptians.<sup>100</sup> The blue monkeys of two Minoan frescoes (472-473) are certainly greenish guenons, probably the *tantalus* guenon (*Lasiopyga tantalus*, Elliot, 386). The sphinx is surely a guenon,<sup>101</sup> and the κῆπος may be a *Nisnas* guenon (*Erythrocebus pyrrhonotus*, Elliot, 441).<sup>102</sup> The *callithrix* is undoubtedly a *guereza*, probably the Abyssinian species (*Colobus abyssinicus*, Elliot, 541).<sup>103</sup> The κῆβος of Aristotle could be any ape with a tail.<sup>104</sup> The λύγξ of Galen is probably a monkey, but no species can be given (this is not a regular name for an ape, ordinarily being applied to a member of the cat family).<sup>105</sup> *Cercopes* ("the

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Keller, *Thiere*, pp. 12-14.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. above, p. 69.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. above, pp. 5, 11.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. above, p. 91.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. above, pp. 67-68.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. above, pp. 95-96.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. above, pp. 68-69.



tailed ones"), a name for mythological figures turned into apes, was sometimes used of apes—it would ordinarily apply to monkeys, but Manilius used it for Barbary apes.<sup>106</sup> Σάτυρος was usually applied to the Asiatic gibbons, but Galen seems to apply it to a monkey, and the term was generally used somewhat haphazardly.<sup>107</sup> Κερκοπίθηκος, *cercopithecus* and *clura* are general words which do no more than mark an ape with a tail.

(b) Asiatic monkeys.<sup>108</sup> All of these monkeys known in classical times which can be shown to be of Asiatic origin, are probably Indian langurs or macaques. Keller's attempt to assign most of these references to the sacred Hanuman langur (*Pygathrix entellus*, Elliot, 501) could be correct, but assuredly is not, since the evidence is not definite enough for his classification.<sup>109</sup>

4. Anthropoid apes.<sup>110</sup> In classical times the distinction between the anthropoid apes and others was not made. There was no name which could be applied, but certain references in literature, and certain objects of art seem to show a little chance acquaintance with the anthropoids. The information is rarely definite, but by careful use of the material some results can be obtained. A unique study of the anthropoids was made late in the seventeenth century by an English doctor, Edward Tyson, who published an important study on the anthropoid. He had obtained a chimpanzee which he dissected. He was struck by the resemblance of the animal to man and branching out into the philological field appended essays in which he propounded the theory that the pygmies, cynocephali, satyrs and sphinxes of ancient times were not men (or mythical creatures) but apes, particularly connecting

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<sup>106</sup> Cf. above, p. 63.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. above, pp. 71-72, 77-78, 96.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Keller, *Thiere*, pp. 9-11.

<sup>109</sup> Warmington gives five different species of langurs imported from India—a more detailed classification than the evidence justifies: E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 147 and note 8 on p. 359.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Keller, *Thiere*, pp. 14-18.

them with the anthropoid ape he had dissected. In part, of course, he was correct, but carried away by his theory he classified references which by no stretch of the imagination could be apes. The bias involved in proving a theory, probably makes most of his philological work invalid. In particular his chief premise that there never existed a race of pygmies is now known to be false.<sup>111</sup> Lichtenstein made a number of identifications of anthropoid apes, which are extremely inaccurate.<sup>112</sup>

There are five genera of large apes in Asia and Africa; the gibbons (*Hylobates*, Elliot 546-557), the siamangs (*Symphalangus*, Elliot, 558-560), the ourang-utans (*Pongo*, Elliot, 561-562), the gorillas (*Gorilla*, Elliot, 563-570) and the chimpanzees (*Pan*, Elliot, 572-585). Of these the siamangs and the ourang-utans are found only on East Indian islands, which location makes knowledge of them in the classical world almost impossible. After one general statement has been made about references which have been erroneously or inconclusively assigned to the anthropoids, gibbons, gorillas and chimpanzees will be taken up in that order. The ape in Galen is not anthropoid,<sup>113</sup> the sphinx was not a chimpanzee,<sup>114</sup> the *cercopes* of Manilius,<sup>115</sup> the Pan-like beast in Damascius,<sup>116</sup> the sphinx and the satyr of Philostorgius<sup>117</sup> cannot be considered as anthropoid apes.

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<sup>111</sup> Edward Tyson, *Orang-Outang, sive homo sylvestris*, etc., to which is added *A Philological Essay Concerning the Pygmies, the Cynocephali, the Satyrs, and Sphinges of the Ancients*, etc., London, 1699. Unfortunately a copy of this book was not available, but one part, *A Philological Essay Concerning the Pygmies of the Ancients* (ed. with an introduction by B. C. A. Windle, London, 1894) has been re-published. From this it is possible to judge the quality of the remainder. Tyson's "Orang-Outang" was a chimpanzee, cf. Elliot, III, pp. 244-245. On Tyson's work cf. R. M. and A. W. Yerkes, *The Great Apes* (New Haven, 1929), pp. 5-7, 198.

<sup>112</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 16-28, 72-74. An example is his classification of the sphinx in Philostorgius (*Historia ecclesiastica*, III, 11) as a chimpanzee—for this animal cf. above, pp. 84-85.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. above, pp. 97-98.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. above, p. 71.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. above, p. 68.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. above, pp. 68, 80-82.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. above, p. 63.

The Indian gibbon is almost surely the Asiatic *satyrus* described by Pliny and Aelian.<sup>118</sup> This seems to be the only fairly certain information about Asiatic anthropoids.

The savage creatures which Hanno met on the west coast of Africa were surely gorillas,<sup>119</sup> as were the animals displayed by Pompey at Rome.<sup>120</sup> The animal which is pursued and killed by a royal hunter in a relief on two Phoenician-Cypriote silver dishes was a gorilla (329-330). A small terracotta relief in the Antiquarium in Berlin shows a female gorilla with two young gorillas (499).

The Hylophagi of Agatharchides and Diodorus are surely chimpanzees.<sup>121</sup> The animal on a sherd from Cabirium is probably a chimpanzee (324), and one of the apes on the mosaic at Praeneste is a chimpanzee (485). Some of the objects of art (particularly some figurines) may have originated from the chimpanzee, but in no case is the representation clear enough to classify them here.<sup>122</sup>

5. Miscellaneous. Philostorgius speaks of *αἰγοπίθηκοι*, *ἀρκοπίθηκοι* and *λεοντοπίθηκοι*, but these may have been pure inventions.<sup>123</sup> The *χοιροπίθηκοι* of Aristotle cannot be classified for lack of information.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Cf. above, pp. 77-78.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. above, pp. 70-71.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. above, pp. 51-55.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. above, pp. 69-70.

<sup>122</sup> Sir Harry Johnston says that he saw apes in the collection of classical terracottas from Tanagra in the British Museum which looked like anthropoid apes. One of them which was riding an ox, he continues, is a close copy of the Schweinfurth chimpanzee (*Pan schweinfurthi*, Elliot, 578): in the introduction to T. A. Barns, *The Wonderland of the Eastern Congo* (London, 1922), pp. xxvi-xxvii; cf. Yerkes, *op. cit.*, p. 207. The ape riding is probably the one described in part II (61) as an ape riding a mule. The sketch in Winter shows an ape with a semi-human body—often the head is the distinguishing simian part—which can no more be classified as a chimpanzee than dozens of other terracottas. Three other terracottas described in part II are probably the other ones referred to by Johnston (125-126, 142).

<sup>123</sup> *Historia ecclesiastica*, III, 11 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXV. col. 496).

<sup>124</sup> *H. A.*, II, 11 (503 a).

## CHAPTER V

### THE APE AS A PET AND A SOURCE OF HUMOR

Of all the animals apes are most similar to man. For this reason to the human mind they are the most comic of animals, because their imitation of man is not perfect, and these lapses from perfection give even the most degraded of men a feeling of superiority. As Plutarch said in comparing a flatterer to an ape, the ape cannot guard the house like a dog, nor work like a horse or an ox, therefore it must put up with being made sport of and being an object of laughter.<sup>1</sup> Again when he is refuting the argument that all things are due to chance, he asks if it could be said that apes are ribald by chance.<sup>2</sup> When Galen says that a painter or a sculptor could find no better parody of a human hand than the forepaw of the ape,<sup>3</sup> he is reflecting an idea that he often states, namely that apes are laughable and ridiculous imitations of man.<sup>4</sup> Of the characteristics in an ape which excited laughter none was so marked as his quasi-human posture—hence Silenus speaks of his satyrs as “stooping like an ape.”<sup>5</sup> Posidonius of Rhodes was amused even by the appearance of sickness in apes.<sup>6</sup> The classic statement on this subject was attributed to the Scythian sage, Anacharsis. When human jesters were introduced at a banquet, he did not even smile, but he burst out laughing when an ape was brought in, since this animal, so he said, was laughable by nature, but human jesters only

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<sup>1</sup> *Moralia*, 64E.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 97D.

<sup>3</sup> *De usu partium*, I, 22 (ed. Kuehn, III, pp. 80-81).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 22 (III, pp. 79-81); III, 8 (III, p. 208); III, 16 (III, p. 264); XIII, 11 (IV, pp. 126-127); XV, 8 (IV, p. 252); *De anatom. adm.*, IV, 1 (II, p. 416).

<sup>5</sup> Sophocles, *Ichneutae*, 121-122 (V, 16-17); for a discussion of these two lines cf. McDermott, *T.A.P.A.*, LXVI (1935), pp. 173-174, notes 53-54.

<sup>6</sup> *Fragm.*, 66 (*Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, ed. Mueller, p. 277) from Strabo, XVII, 827.

by practice.<sup>7</sup> It is possible that this statement may imply the superiority of the natural, but Athenaeus is merely stressing the humor of the ape's appearance.<sup>8</sup>

In this chapter it is very difficult to classify the references, since to a certain degree most of the material has some relation to all of the divisions which can be made. However it has seemed best in view of the amount of the material to make some division, but it must be remembered that, for example, many of the remarks which apply to the pet ape and the trained ape are applicable to the ape in fables as well as to the ape which is used humorously and satirically in literature. Also there will naturally be some duplication in references. In most cases cross-references by pages to material within the chapter will not be made.

#### THE APE IN FABLE AND PROVERB

In fables the ape appeared at an early date. Its character varied. Sometimes it was a wise judge or the counterpart of the fox, but more often it was the dupe of the fox. Its grotesque similarity to man and its tendency for trickery are sometimes the motives for its introduction, in which case its imitation of man may bring it to grief. This characteristic is noted by Gregory of Nazianzus when he says that apes can be enticed to perform human actions but cannot exhibit human cleverness—in this passage Gregory means to characterize pagans as apes.<sup>9</sup> Isidore has the same idea in mind when he denies reason to apes.<sup>10</sup> The most striking characteristic of

<sup>7</sup> Athenaeus, *Deipn.*, XIV, 613d.

<sup>8</sup> Anacharsis was a primitivist and preferred the natural to the human (or artificial). To Croesus he said the fiercest of animals was the bravest, the most just and the wisest, since it preferred the truth in nature to law (Diodorus Siculus, IX, 26). Cf. A. O. Lovejoy and G. Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore, 1935), pp. 398-399.

<sup>9</sup> *Contra Iulianum*, I, 112 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XXXV, col. 649A); this was written in 363 A. D.—the year of Julian's death.

<sup>10</sup> *Etymol.*, XII, 2, 30.

the ape in fables is its rôle as a sycophant. Luria who considered the ape in fables as an example of the low-born demagogue pretending to high birth, interprets the character of the ape too narrowly.<sup>11</sup> In fables the ape follows the pattern to be found outside of fables, and as a consequence has a more complicated background than the other animals.

The characteristics of the ape in fables may owe something to eastern stories or vice-versa,<sup>12</sup> although the exact connection of classic fables and the east is uncertain, but the chief elements of the ape's character seem to be founded on observation of the actual animal together with some added interpretation. In real life the ape is an imitator of man, displays a combination of stupidity and cleverness. Its quasi-human appearance often leads the spectator to imply more intelligence to the animal than it really has. It is interesting to note that the ape is one of the characters in Indonesian "trickster" tales, particularly in those current in the Celebes and Halmahera. In these tales the ape is sometimes the dupe, and at others the trickster.<sup>13</sup>

The character of the ape in Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale* and in Richard Niccols' *The Beggars Ape* is somewhat similar to its rôle in ancient fables. In alliance with the fox it plays the rôle of the false soldier, the base courtier and the puppet king. In this last rôle it wears a lion's skin.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> S. Luria, "Der Affe des Archilochos und die Brautwerbung des Hippokleides," *Philologus*, LXXXV (1929-30), pp. 1-22.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology* (London, 1872), II, pp. 107-108 *et al.* The *Pancatantra* is later than the materials in the Aesopic collection.

<sup>13</sup> R. B. Dixon, "Oceanic Mythology" in *The Mythology of All Races*, IX (Boston, 1916), pp. 186-205, especially pp. 191-197, 199.

<sup>14</sup> A. B. Leible, *Conventions of Animal Symbolism and Satire in Spenser's Mother Hubberds Tale* (ms. dissertation, the University of Chicago, 1930), pp. 210-211; R. Brice Harris, *The Beast in English Satire from Spenser to John Gay* (ms. dissertation, Harvard University, 1930), pp. 54-58, 89-98; H. H. Hudson, *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, 6 (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), pp. 66-68 (the ape of Niccols is identified as the Earl of Northampton (?)); Brice

In one of the fables of John Gay, "The Monkey who had seen the World," the animal after being a lady's pet, dressed in a periwig and embroidered coat, finally returns to its tribe with this advice to its fellows—deal in flattery, conceal hate, lie promptly, and pretend in everything.<sup>15</sup>

The earliest appearance of the ape in Greek literature is in a fragmentary fable by Archilochus in which the ape seems to be tricked by the fox.<sup>16</sup> Another fragment which ridicules the ape's (lack of) rump probably belonged to the same fable.<sup>17</sup>

The ape is one of the characters in the Aesopic fables. In one fable a fox and an ape boast of their ancestors, but when the ape mourns for its ancestors which are buried by the road, the fox says it is safe to do so as they cannot rise and say that the ape lies.<sup>18</sup> In another an ape who danced well was

Harris, postscript to *The Beggars Ape* (1627) (*Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints*, 1936?) (he concludes that the ape in Spenser and Niccols is the same man—Sir Robert Cecil). Dr. Harris will further discuss the question in an article soon to appear, "The Ape in Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale*."

<sup>15</sup> Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

<sup>16</sup> *Fragm.*, 89 (Bergk, *Poetae lyriici Graeci*, II, p. 708) from Ammonius, *De differentia vocabulorum*, 7. When Aristides (XLVI, 307) speaks of the "apes of Archilochus" he probably refers to this passage, and, since he is speaking of those who praise the truth but do not practice it, he implies hypocrisy in the ape.

<sup>17</sup> *Fragm.*, 91 (*ibid.*, p. 709) from the scholiast *ad Aristophanis Acharnenses*, 120. Aristophanes parodied the line (*Acharn.*, 120) in describing a eunuch, ridiculing his (lack of) beard (i. e. substituting *πώγων* for *πυγή*). For a classification of this line among the various parodies in Aristophanes cf. A. C. Schlesinger, *T. A. P. A.*, LXVII (1936), p. 297, no. 6. Schlesinger classes it among the parodies which may be unintentional. For a partial reconstruction of the fable from four fragments cf. Luria, *Philologus*, LXXXV (1929-30), pp. 3-6. Hiller (*Anthologia Lyrica*, 4th ed., Leipzig, 1890, *Fragm.*, 98) suggests *ψυχή* for *πυγή*—a suggestion to which Luria objects. Cf. also H. T. Archibald, *The Fable as a Stylistic Test in Classical Greek Literature* (Baltimore, 1913), pp. 44-52.

<sup>18</sup> *Fabulae Aesopicae collectae* (ed. Halm, Leipzig, 1854), 43, 43b

elected king of the animals, but was tricked into taking the bait from a trap by the fox.<sup>19</sup> In another the ape was the judge between the elephant and the camel, rival claimants for the throne.<sup>20</sup> Again the ape serves the lion and the fox at dinner.<sup>21</sup> Again an ass imitating the ape danced on the roof and was beaten.<sup>22</sup>

Another of these fables is Lucian's story of the Egyptian king who taught a troop of apes to do the Pyrrhic dance while wearing purple robes and masks. All went well until a spectator tossed in some nuts and the dance broke up in a mad scramble for the food.<sup>23</sup> In another fable the apes became enthusiastic about a project to build a city, but abandoned it when an old ape warned them that they would be more easily captured when they were held in by a wall.<sup>24</sup> Again an ape, after watching fisherman casting a net, tried it and got tangled in the net.<sup>25</sup> In another fable an ape was the pet of a sailor. After a shipwreck the ape was picked up by a dolphin who thought the ape was a man. The ape said he was an Athenian and was asked if he knew the Peiraeus. When the ape answered that Peiraeus was a good

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(a variant). There is another version in Babrius (*Fab.*, 81), the first two lines of which are quoted by Suidas (*Lex.*, s. v. *πίθηκος*).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 244 (= Babrius, *Fab.*, 106).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 338 (= Babrius, *Fab.*, 125).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 360 (= Lucian, *Piscator*, 36). Lucian also tells a story about Cleopatra whose trained ape danced beautifully until it saw food (*Apologia*, 5). In Gregory of Nyssa the tale is used to illustrate the difference between the true Christian and those who are Christian only on the surface: *Ad Harmonium* (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XLVI, cols. 239-242).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 361 (= Hermogenes, *Progymnastica*, 14). Hermogenes in his description of the use of fables for teaching gives a sample short version (the one just cited) and then gives directions for transforming it into a longer one by giving the speech of the ape proposing the measure, etc. (*Progymn.*, 14-15). Priscian translates these comments of Hermogenes: *Præexercitamina*, I, 1-4 (Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, III, pp. 430-431).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 362. There is another version in Babrius (*Fab.*, 157).



friend of his, the dolphin knew it had been deceived and let the impostor drown.<sup>26</sup>

Another fable tells of the ape which brought its ugly young one to Zeus when the king of the gods offered a prize for beautiful children.<sup>27</sup> Another fable, like one already mentioned, tells of an ape which danced and was praised, and of a camel which tried to dance and was beaten.<sup>28</sup> The last of the Aesopic fables which contains an ape tells of the ape bearing twins of which it loves one and hates the other. The loved one is smothered by an excess of affection, but the hated one survives.<sup>29</sup>

Four fables by Phaedrus refer to the ape—none of these are parallel with the Aesopic collection.<sup>30</sup> In one the ape is the indecisive judge between the fox and the wolf.<sup>31</sup> In another it is in a butcher's shop as a pet, and is the occasion

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 363. Many stories were current about men riding on dolphins, of which the most famous is the story of Arion: cf. E. B. Stebbins, *The Dolphin in the Literature and Art of Greece and Rome* (a Johns Hopkins diss., Menasha, Wis., 1929), pp. 62-73.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 364 (= Babrius, *Fab.*, 56). Avianus has the same story (*Fab.*, 14). For later parallels cf. L. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge*, II (2nd ed., Paris, 1894), pp. 594-595; III (Paris, 1894), pp. 329, 358, 393, 436, 476, 483, 494. These later versions follow Avianus rather than Babrius. Pliny (*H. N.*, VIII, 216) says that apes show great affection for their young displaying them to all who come near. Synesius says that men look on their own books as apes do on their young, *Epist.*, 1 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXVI, cols. 1323-1324).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 365.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 366, 366b (a variant). The fable is also in Babrius (*Fab.*, 35) and in Avianus (*Fab.*, 35). The latter has a different ending—the loved twin is dropped when its mother tires in flight. For later versions (which follow Avianus) cf. Hervieux, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 345, 367, 389, 446, 488, 499. For other uses of this story see above, pp. 47-48. An English proverb looks back to this story: "to kill with kindness (as fond apes do their young)"—W. G. Smith, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Oxford, 1935), p. 525.

<sup>30</sup> These fables are discussed in more detail in my article in *T. A. P. A.*, LXVII (1936), pp. 159-161.

<sup>31</sup> *Fab.*, I, 10; cf. also Dorjahn, *C. J.*, XXXII (1937), pp. 560-562.

for a bad pun concerning its taste or knowledge (*sapere*).<sup>32</sup> In the third it does not by its flattery avoid being eaten by the lion who feigns sickness and the need of a new food to circumvent his vow not to shed blood.<sup>33</sup> Finally an ape (i. e. a Barbary ape) begs a fox for a part of its tail, but is insultingly refused.<sup>34</sup> Some of the fables of Phaedrus were mines for later fabulists.<sup>35</sup>

The character of the ape in proverbs is somewhat similar to, though simpler than its character in fables. But even here for similar reasons its character is more complicated than that of the other animals. Like the ass it is clownish and ugly, like the fox it is wily, like the wolf it is greedy, but above all it is imitative.<sup>36</sup> These proverbs are sometimes found embedded in classical texts, and sometimes are to be found in the various compilers.<sup>37</sup>

One proverb notes the cleverness of the ape—a cleverness

<sup>32</sup> *Fab.*, III, 4.

<sup>33</sup> *Fab.*, IV, 13. This fable is largely reconstructed from the paraphrast: cf. G. Thiele, *Der lateinische Aesop des Romulus und die Prosafassungen des Phaedrus* (Heidelberg, 1910), pp. 234 ff.; J. P. Postgate, *Classical Quarterly*, XIII (1919), pp. 82-87.

<sup>34</sup> *Appendix*, 1.

<sup>35</sup> For *Fab.*, I, 10, cf. Hervieux, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 141, 211, 269, 360, 468, 491, 647. For *Appendix* 1 cf. Thiele, *op. cit.*, pp. 222 ff.; Hervieux, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 147, 184, 221, 243, 261, 345, 363, 501, 538, 616, 651.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. H. P. Houghton, *The Moral Significance of Animals as Indicated in Greek Proverbs* (a Johns Hopkins diss., Amherst, 1915), *passim*, especially pp. 51-52. C. Prantl stresses too much the similarity of the fox and the ape: *Philologus*, VII (1852), pp. 67-68. Cf. also C. S. Koehler, *Das Tierleben im Sprichwort der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 7-8, nos. 16-19; R. Riegler, *Das Tier im Spiegel der Sprache* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1907), p. 4. For English proverbs mentioning the ape cf. W. G. Smith, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 2, 40, 42, 237, 300, 336, 429, 443, 495, 525, 549, 595.

<sup>37</sup> Collected in *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum*, ed. by E. L. von Leutsch and F. G. Schneidewin, 2 vols., Göttingen, 1839-1851 (cited below as *C. P. G.*). An early work on proverbs which still has value is Desiderius Erasmus, *Adagia*, Rotterdam, 1629.

which is not sufficient to keep it out of trouble: "an old ape is not caught by a snare, but finally it is caught."<sup>38</sup> The English proverb—"an old ape hath an old eye"<sup>39</sup>—may reflect this saying. Another proverb contrasts strength and heroism with trickery—"an ape and Hercules."<sup>40</sup> Another proverbial saying concerns a man who is at times a lion (i. e. a hero), at times an ape (i. e. a trickster).<sup>41</sup> This is quite similar to the one joining Hercules and the ape, and grew out of a natural contrast between the two animals. Plato used this contrast very effectively. Nicias asserted that courage does not exist without a knowledge of the grounds of hope and fear. To this statement Socrates replied that in that case the lion and the stag, the bull and the ape had equally small pretensions to courage.<sup>42</sup> The contrast of courage and cowardice here pointed out is not far removed from the contrast of heroism and trickery in the proverb. Again Socrates says that the man who for the sake of money submits to being trampled becomes an ape after being a lion.<sup>43</sup> Here the ape as sycophant is emphasized rather than the ape as a coward. In a third place in a description of the forms taken for the next life Ajax chose the lion, Thersites, the ape.<sup>44</sup> Here ugliness and baseness characterize the ape. This comparison is found in Gregory of Nazianzus who uses it to contrast the pagan and the Christian or the mean-souled and the great-souled, or even the contrast of a man's actions

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<sup>38</sup> Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum*, V, 93; Zenobius, II, 93 (*C. P. G.*, I, p. 56); Diogenianus, II, 23 (*C. P. G.*, II, p. 21); Apostolius, V, 37-37a (*C. P. G.*, II, p. 343); Suidas, *Lex.*, s. v. *πίθηκος*.

<sup>39</sup> *Smith, op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>40</sup> Lucian, *Pisc.*, 37 (cf. the scholiast *a. h. l.*); Gregorius Cyprius, III, 66 (*C. P. G.*, II, p. 117); Macarius, IV, 53 (*C. P. G.*, II, p. 171); Apostolius, VIII, 65 (*C. P. G.*, II, p. 449). For Hercules and the Cercopes (or apes) cf. above, pp. 60-62.

<sup>41</sup> Macarius, IV, 18 (*C. P. G.*, II, p. 168); Apostolius, VII, 98a (*C. P. G.*, II, p. 423).

<sup>42</sup> *Laches*, 196E.

<sup>43</sup> *De republica*, IX, 590B.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 620C.

at different times.<sup>45</sup> Eucheria included the ape in a list of evil or base animals, whereas the contrasted list of good or noble animals included the lion, the lynx and the tiger.<sup>46</sup> Connected with the proverb about the ape and the lion is another in Lucian—"the ape in a lion's skin."<sup>47</sup> However this may be merely a Lucianic variation of "the ass in a lion's skin." A neat commentary on the idea of an ape disguised as a lion is given in a Byzantine author who may have gotten it from Lucian. Nicetas says that you can tell the fraud when the animal makes a simian instead of a leonine leap—this is followed by the moral, Mohammed is as much inferior to Christ as an ape is to a lion.<sup>48</sup>

The most famous of the proverbs which point out that an ape in masquerade is soon found out is found in two forms. The first version was probably suggested by a story like Lucian's fable of the apes who danced in purple robes: "an ape in purple."<sup>49</sup> When the enemies of Julian called him *purpurata simia* the reference is to this proverb.<sup>50</sup> The second version of this proverb is merely an elaboration of the first: "an ape's an ape even if it wears golden sandals."<sup>51</sup> There is an English version of it—"an ape's an ape, a varlet's a varlet, though they be clad in silk or scarlet"<sup>52</sup>—as

<sup>45</sup> *Epist.*, 164 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XXXVII, col. 273A); *Carmina*, I, II, 33, 96 (*ibid.*, col. 935); *Carmina*, II, I, 11, 408-409 (*ibid.*, col. 1057). Cf. also Eustathius, *Epist.*, 19 *init.* (*ibid.*, CXXXVI, cols. 1274-1275).

<sup>46</sup> *Anthologia Latina*, no. 390, 19-22 (ed. Riese, I, 1, Leipzig, 1869).

<sup>47</sup> *Philopseudes*, 5; cf. *Piscator*, 32.

<sup>48</sup> *Refutatio Mohamedis*, I, 38 (Migne, *op. cit.*, CV, col. 721A-C).

<sup>49</sup> Diogenianus, VII, 94 (*C. P. G.*, I, p. 303); Apostolius, XIV, 32 (*C. P. G.*, II, p. 614); Suidas, *Lex.*, s. v. *πίθηκος*.

<sup>50</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII, 11, 1.

<sup>51</sup> Lucian, *Adversus indoctum*, 4 (he is addressing an illiterate book collector); Macarius, VII, 12 (*C. P. G.*, II, p. 202); Apostolius, XIV, 33 (*C. P. G.*, II, p. 614). The texts of Lucian and Apostolius read *σύμβολα*, but Macarius reads *σάνδαλα*. The text in Lucian should probably be *σάμβαλα* an Aeolic form for *σάνδαλα*.

<sup>52</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

well as a German version—"Affen bleiben Affen, wenn man sie auch in Seide und Sammet kleidet."<sup>53</sup>

The remaining proverbs point to the ape for its ugliness or baseness. Menander speaks of an ugly wife surrounded by ugly maids as "an ass among apes."<sup>54</sup> "The most flattering of apes" shows the sycophant.<sup>55</sup> "A gag for an ape" probably refers to its character as a sycophant, and is explained as punishment justly bestowed.<sup>56</sup> "An ape feeding on unripe grapes" is explained as a worthless animal eating worthless food.<sup>57</sup> A number of lamps show apes eating grapes (555-560).

#### THE APE IN HUMOROUS ART

In many ways classic humor varies from modern humor. Actions which merely disgust us were amusing to the classic peoples. Ancient humor depended more upon the grotesque, the exaggerated, the unusual and the cruel. Often mere ugliness and deformity were regarded as fit subjects for laughter. Hence the representation of the ape was naturally a subject of humor, since in addition to its natural comicality, its ugliness and (to human eyes) its deformity appealed as laughable. Many of the comic possibilities of the ape came from Egyptian influence which was strong in the development of caricature. The subjects of caricature in vase painting are often Egyptian: for example the story of Hercules and Busiris,<sup>58</sup> the battles of the pygmies and the cranes,<sup>59</sup> and

<sup>53</sup> Riegler, *loc. cit.*

<sup>54</sup> *Plocium* (T. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta*, III, Leipzig, 1888, p. 115, no. 402) quoted by Gellius, II, 23, 9; *Appendix Prov.*, IV, 24 (*C. P. G.*, I, p. 439); *Mantissa Prov.*, II, 38 (*C. P. G.*, II, p. 765).

<sup>55</sup> Lucian, *Piscator*, 34; Apostolius, IX, 86b (*C. P. G.*, II, p. 481).

<sup>56</sup> Macarius, VII, 15 (*C. P. G.*, II, p. 202).

<sup>57</sup> Macarius, VII, 14 (*ibid.*).

<sup>58</sup> A. Furtwaengler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich, 1904—), pl. 51.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. the band on the foot of the François vase: *ibid.*, pl. 3.

many of the negro representations.<sup>60</sup> The Turin papyrus drawing from Egypt of a comic orchestra including a monkey playing a double flute has already been discussed.<sup>61</sup> Satiric sketches on ostraka from Egyptian Thebes are common, for example a mouse seated on a throne waited on by a cat.<sup>62</sup> Antiphilus, a Greek painter to whom the comic and grotesque appealed, lived in Egyptian Alexandria.<sup>63</sup> Ziehen has pointed out that in general the ancients were fonder both of theatrical and artistic representations of animals than the moderns are.<sup>64</sup> Champfleury noted the importance of the grotesque and the animals in ancient caricature in a survey of the subject which is still extremely valuable.<sup>65</sup>

A plain representation of the ape was often enough to satisfy the desire for comedy. Many of these occur as figurines, in vase paintings, as plastic vases, in mosaics, paintings, reliefs and so forth (1-50, 178-183, 186-188, 194-195, 199-203, 262-270, 206-208, 245-260, 274-275, 277-280, 283-284, 299-304, 310, 312, 322, 331-332, 339-340, 346-348, 353-354, 370-395, 410-420, 457-458, 476, 493, 565-566, 569-576). The animal may be lying down, sitting, squatting, kneeling or standing. The most frequent position is the squatting position which is most natural for the animal. The standing position is the most unnatural for the animal, and in such cases the figure is sometimes an ape-headed man instead of an ape. Four figurines show standing monkeys with tails enlarged and pointed down to form an extra support (33-34,

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<sup>60</sup> Cf. G. H. Beardsley, *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization* (Baltimore, 1929), pp. 42-66 *et passim*.

<sup>61</sup> P. 12.

<sup>62</sup> M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (New Haven, 1929), p. 36, fig. 80.

<sup>63</sup> Swindler, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-275.

<sup>64</sup> J. Ziehen, "Die Darstellung der Tiere in der antiken Kunst," *Berichte der senckenbergischen naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Frankfurt am Main*, XLI (1910), pp. 267-305.

<sup>65</sup> Champfleury (pseudonym for Jules Fleury), *Histoire de la caricature antique* (2nd ed., Paris, 1865), *passim*—for the ape cf. pp. 8, 49-55, 64, 65, 118, 123, 166-167, 210-212.

**68, 172**). A few objects show the animal seated on a chair or a stool (**45, 145, 461-468, 492**), but this is an unnatural position. Representation of the head only is fairly frequent, although in the case of figurines the head may be a fragment of a larger figure (**83-100, 175-176, 215-229, 232, 272, 335, 337, 469-471**). There is rarely any attempt to show the ape in its native scene. The most noted exception is the mosaic from Praeneste (**485**). Certain other objects do this too (**329-330, 346-348, 472-473, 499-500**).

An interesting variant of the position is found in the squatting ape with its paws to its snout, eyes, ears or throat (**98-99, 108-124, 155, 204, 212-214, 236-244, 282, 285-286, 289-298, 369, 406-409, 442-456**). This is found most frequently in Etruscan art and Corinthian alabastra. These apes suggest a comparison with the three monkeys represented in Japanese art with paws to their eyes, ears and snout. The Japanese monkeys represent "see-no-evil, hear-no-evil and speak-no-evil," but this motive does not seem to be present in the classical examples.

Many of the apes are represented as carrying objects or reaching for them. In a few cases these objects are unidentifiable (**143, 205, 211**). The largest group consists of the ape eating or reaching for food, a very natural act for this greedy animal (**60, 132-137, 139-142, 144, 185, 209, 233-235, 261, 276, 303b, 305, 327, 356-357, 399-401, 459-460, 504-508, 538, 555-560**). Usually the food is fruit, but it varies since many apes, like man, are omnivorous. One figurine shows an ape drinking from a cup (**138**) which recalls the fondness of the animal for wine.<sup>66</sup> Again it may hold a bird (**167-168, 230, 396-398**) or a fox (**172**) or a gazelle (**355**). The ape's affection for its offspring was well-known, hence an old ape holding a young one to its breast, on its shoulder or beside it, was a common subject (**64-69, 71-80, 82, 174, 209-210, 281, 334, 358-361, 402-404, 422-430a**). In most cases it may be assumed that the older ape is female, but one figurine portrays an ape which is definitely male with a young ape (**68**).

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<sup>66</sup> Cf. above, p. 86.

Many of the representations reflect the simian imitations of human actions which are noted in literature. Apes performing human actions may be reflections of performances of the animals in the theater, or of the tricks of pet apes, or they may be merely the fancy of the artist. They may carry a mask (198), a bucket (196), a vase (173, 362-368, 405, 431-441), or even a human head (333, 439). Again some hold shields (169-171), some writing tablets (164-165), one holds a book-roll (166), some make bread (127-131) and others use a mortar and pestle (125-126). Apes may be playing musical instruments: pipes (341, 345, 461-468, 539), flute (106-107, 184, 271, 349, 483, 540-542), lyre (101-102, 104-105, 342), accordion (349) or mandolin (489). Aristotle suggests for a sample simile the resemblance of a flute-player to an ape.<sup>67</sup>

Dressing the ape in human clothes was in ancient times as in modern a favorite source of amusement.<sup>68</sup> In a painting in the House of the Dioscuri at Pompeii an ape in a white jacket with hood and sleeves dances clumsily at the bidding of its young master (479). Many objects show it wearing some article of clothing (55, 64, 76, 145-163, 189-193, 196-197, 288, 309, 344, 350, 464-468, 478, 491, 501, 568). In some it is wearing the short Gallic cloak, *bardocucullus* (e. g. 159) which Martial speaks of as an ape's mantle.<sup>69</sup> In a bone figurine it wears a long enveloping robe, since it probably caricatures a tragic actor (288), which recalls the comment of the older actor, Myniscus, who called a younger actor, Callipides, an ape because of the extravagance of his portrayals.<sup>70</sup> One figurine is interesting because around the neck of the animal is the *bulla* which children wore (47).

An ape riding some kind of animal is frequently portrayed: riding a horse (51-56, 59, 62, 273, 316, 350, 421), a mule (61), a boar (58), a pig (60, 586), a camel (63, 588), a bull

<sup>67</sup> *Ars rhetorica*, III, 12 (1413a).

<sup>68</sup> Brehm, *Tierleben*, IV<sup>4</sup>, pl. III, 5, opp. p. 531 shows six rhesus macaques and a drill dressed in elaborate costumes.

<sup>69</sup> XIV, 128.

<sup>70</sup> Aristotle, *De arte poetica*, 26, 2 (1461b).



(57, 193), a tortoise (396-398), a lion (315), a doe (421a) and an ass with lion's paws (307). In Etruscan art it is seen on the rump of a horse (237-241, 243-244, 318). In Greco-Egyptian gems it is portrayed on a boat (582), a chariot (578) and a sphinx (583). Various objects from the time of the Roman Empire may reflect scenes from the circus: in Pompeian wall paintings, an ape (?) in a cart drawn by two pigs (481), two apes drawing a cart in which there is a bowl (482); on lamps, apes in boats (548-552), an ape in a *cisium* drawn by an ass (553), a cynocephalus driving a *biga* (554); in a relief, a cynocephalus (?) in a *biga* drawn by two camels (502).

A few scenes are of particular interest. On the Macmillan lecythus a crouching ape clenches both fists and shakes the right one at one of the boy-riders in a race (306); this motive is found again on an Apulian amphora (322). On one Caeretan hydria an ape stands with the index finger of its right forepaw held out in mockery (313), on another a tiny monkey creeps along as far as its leash will allow it, for it is tied by a red cord to one of the decorative bands (314). The apes on these four vases introduce some relieving humor.

A wall painting from Pompeii shows Aeneas carrying his father from Troy and leading his son Iulus. These three are represented as dog-headed, half-human apes (478). Anchises is carrying a dice-box instead of his household gods. The picture is a piece of satire aimed at Virgil (the ape of Homer) and at Augustus and his father Julius. The dice-box marks the love of gambling which was characteristic of Julius and of Augustus.<sup>71</sup> A terracotta plaque shows a school scene in which the teacher is an ass, and the pupils are apes (501). This plaque was made to be fastened on the wall and may well have decorated the house of a man who thought teachers were fools and students merely aped their teachers. A Roman lamp

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<sup>71</sup> In another satiric painting an ithyphallic ass and lion seem to represent Octavianus and Antony respectively; cf. Wissowa, *Roem. Mitt.*, V (1890), p. 5, note 1.

shows a parody of Ganymede carried to heaven by an eagle—Ganymede is an ape (561). A terracotta figurine shows an ape reading a book-roll (*volumen*) on which is inscribed the word *ἑφαλλοπίναξ* ("one who jumps on a plate") which is probably the title of the book—a fitting one for the greedy animal and for the sycophant to whom the ape is often likened (166).

Finally it is instructive to see a selection of art objects from non-classical times in which the ape is a figure of humor. A Japanese ink drawing shows two monkeys masquerading as blind beggars, another shows a frog, two apes, a cat and a duck dressed up as parody Buddhist priests.<sup>72</sup> A pre-Inca plastic vase done by a Chimú potter is in the form of the upper body of an ape.<sup>73</sup> A twelfth century painting on wood in the Cathedral of Peterborough in England shows an ape riding backward on a goat and carrying an owl in its right forepaw. The picture symbolizes the pride and degeneracy of the nobility.<sup>74</sup> Two fourteenth century manuscript drawings show a monkey turning a spit, and a monkey with a bag tied to its girdle hawking.<sup>75</sup> Titian parodied the excesses of classicism by a woodcut in which Laocoon and his two sons are apes.<sup>76</sup> An eighteenth century porcelain shows three monkeys as an orchestra.<sup>77</sup> Two of Goya's engravings in the series *Los Caprichos*, executed between 1796 and 1812 show

<sup>72</sup> Attributed to Toba-Sojo (12th-13th centuries A.D.); Kelley, *Art and Archaeology*, XXXIV (1933), p. 60; Ledoux, *The American Magazine of Art*, XXIX (1936), p. 566 (figure).

<sup>73</sup> Lano, *Art and Archaeology*, XXX (1930), p. 124.

<sup>74</sup> Pownall, *Archaeologia*, IX (1789), p. 147, pl. VII, fig. 2.

<sup>75</sup> D. Hartley and M. Elliot, *Life and Work of the People of England* (New York and London, 1929), pls. 6 (b), 59 (c).

<sup>76</sup> About 1540. J. Parton, *Caricature and other Comic Art* (New York, 1877), p. 89; E. Fuchs, *Die Karikatur der europaischen Voelker vom Altertum bis zur Neuzeit* (Berlin, 1901), plate opp. p. 40.

<sup>77</sup> *Victoria and Albert Museum, Schreiber Collection*, I (London, 1928), no. 136. For similar figures from Meissen (ca. 1750 A.D.) cf. Davis, *Illustrated London News* (9/7/37), p. 450.

the ape.<sup>78</sup> In one a donkey applauds an ape which is playing on a guitar.<sup>79</sup> This may be a caricature of Charles the fourth (the donkey) and Manuel de Godoy (the ape), the favorite and minister of Charles. In another the ape is painting the portrait of an ass—the portrait shows a horse wearing a curled wig.<sup>80</sup> Together these two pictures are epitomes of deceit and flattery.

#### ORPHEUS AND THE APE

One scene which occurs frequently, particularly in Greco-Roman times, is the scene of Orpheus among the animals.<sup>81</sup> The legendary accounts of the effect of the music of Orpheus on animals are responsible, of course, for the general details of this scene. The widespread use of the scene may be in part due to the spread of Orphic ideas, and in the later period to the use of Orpheus in Christian symbolism. However it seems highly probable that the most cogent reason for the repetition of this scene so frequently is artistic—it gave an artist, no matter what his medium, an excellent excuse for the portrayal of a wide variety of wild and tame birds and animals. Moreover in some scenes half-animal mythological figures come into the group for the same reason.

In many of these representations an ape occurs. Since the scene is usually a complicated one containing many figures it is, as one would expect, more frequently found in mosaics and reliefs. But it does appear in cases where the surface is so small that the artist is at a decided disadvantage. It is

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<sup>78</sup> In general cf. A. F. Calvert, *Goya* (London and New York, 1908), pp. 84-94, 178.

<sup>79</sup> No. 38: *ibid.*, p. 178, pl. 348.

<sup>80</sup> No. 41: *ibid.*, p. 178, pl. 351.

<sup>81</sup> There will be no attempt here to cover the basic ideas of Orphism. For a general account of Orpheus cf. O. Gruppe in Roscher, *Lexikon*, III, 1 (Leipzig, 1897-1909), cols. 1058-1207 (cols. 1172-1207 give a good list of artistic representations—of which cols. 1202-1207 deal with Christian representations). W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, London, 1935.

to be seen on a Gallo-Roman bronze vase handle from Mainz (567); on a second century Corinthian lamp (544); on two gems in the Hermitage (596-597); and on three coins from the Antonine period (598-600). A cup from Cologne (341) and a mold for a cup from Trier (342) show the same type of scene. Two ivory pyxides—one in the Bobbio Monastery (351), the other from Brioude and now in Florence (352)—have on one side hunting scenes and on the other Orpheus in the midst of animals and mythological creatures. Five reliefs show the scene: one from Aegina now in Athens (510); one in the Tschinili-Kiosk (511); one at Sabratha (512); one from Mallawi now in Berlin (513); and one in Pettau (509).<sup>82</sup> Three mosaics show Orpheus surrounded by great numbers of animals: one in Perugia (487); one from the house of the Laberii at Uthina (Oudna) (488);<sup>83</sup> one from Palermo (490); and one in Volubilis (490a). A fifth mosaic from Morton on the Isle of Wight has only two animals and two birds (491). A sixth mosaic at Jerusalem which is definitely Christian in its character has been included in part II because one of the animals has been identified as an ape by one author, and may have been suggested by a prototype including an ape (496).

In these representations the ape seems to be a Barbary ape (*Simia sylvanus*, Elliot, 287) rather than the dog-headed baboon (*Papio hamadryas*, Elliot, 275). In other words the familiar house pet was introduced among the animals, rather than the baboon, sacred animal of Thoth. Perhaps the familiarity of this baboon in the flesh and as an artistic object may have affected the three Alexandrian coins (598-600) but even that is doubtful. When it is observed that often the animal has a particular place in the composition, the specific reason for its introduction will be noticed. The ape usually sits or

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<sup>82</sup> The reliefs in the Tschinili-Kiosk and in Berlin are not wholly preserved, hence the presence of the ape is conjectural.

<sup>83</sup> Another mosaic from this same house shows four animals, including a monkey, set in medallions (486).

squats on a level with the head of Orpheus and facing him. The little animal is a parody of the musician—it is introduced because of its character as a mimic. This is especially obvious in four of the art objects. In the cup from Cologne (341) the ape is playing a reed pipe; in the cup model from Trier (342) one of the two apes carries a lyre. In the mosaic from the Isle of Wight (491) the ape sits in much the same attitude as Orpheus and wears a tiny cap on the back of its head in imitation of Orpheus' Phrygian cap. But most interesting of all is a mosaic now in the Louvre from Hadrumetum (Sousse) in which an ape, playing an instrument which resembles a mandolin, is not parodying Orpheus, but is a parody representation of Orpheus (489).<sup>84</sup> Apes with musical instruments are by no means uncommon in ancient art.<sup>85</sup>

It is possible that the ape had something to do with the Cabiric worship at Thebes.<sup>86</sup> The evidence for this however is by no means conclusive. Much of our evidence for this cult has come from the excavations at the Cabirium in Boeotian Thebes. The vases show scenes which seem to reflect parodies or travesties of divine or heroic themes. The heroes appear as deformed and horribly ugly men. The return of Odysseus, Odysseus and Circe, Cadmus and the dragon, and other similar themes are represented. Lapalus has suggested that there probably was a theater at the Cabirium where these burlesques were played.<sup>87</sup> A grotesque procession and other theatrical accompaniments are shown in some Cabiric vases

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<sup>84</sup> The mosaic is fragmentary but it is not a fragment of a large mosaic including Orpheus, nor is it an attack on the Orphic rites by Christians as Eisler says (cf. the comment in part II).

<sup>85</sup> Cf. above, p. 121.

<sup>86</sup> For the Cabiric cult cf. Bloch in Roscher, *Lexikon*, II, 2 (Leipzig, 1894-7), cols. 2522-41, s. v. *Megaloi Theoi*.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. E. Lapalus, "Sur le sens des parodies de thèmes héroïques dans la peinture des vases du Cabirion thébain," *R. Arch.*, série 5, XXXII (1932), pp. 65-88, figs. 1-7 (1. The Return of Odysseus; 2-3. Odysseus and Circe; 4. Cadmus and the dragon; 5. Bellerophon and the Chimaera; 6. Achilles and Peleus with Chiron; 7. Combat of the Pygmies and Cranes).

in Athens.<sup>88</sup> In view of these vase scenes I am inclined to think that an anthropoid ape (chimpanzee?) which occurs on an unpublished sherd in the Museum of the University of Heidelberg may reflect one of the theatrical representations there.<sup>89</sup> It is more probable that in the actual presentation one of the actors wore an ape costume than that a chimpanzee was trained and available. It has been suggested that at Thebes Cabirus was identified with Dionysus.<sup>90</sup> It is just possible that the Orphic-Dionysus connection may have been influenced by the Cabiric-Dionysus connection at Thebes in the matter of the ape among the animals surrounding Orpheus. But that is too tenuous for more than suggestion. However it should be noticed that these statements have no significance in connection with the untenable hypothesis that satyrs were derived from apes. The apes with Orpheus and the ape at the Cabirium were humorous or burlesque, not significant in any religious sense. A possible parallel may be found in Ganymede as an ape in Apuleius<sup>91</sup> and on a lamp in the Louvre (561).

The connection of Orpheus with Christianity has been widely discussed.<sup>92</sup> The particular point of interest here is

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<sup>88</sup> E. Lapalus, "Vases cabiriques du Musée national d'Athènes, *R. Arch.*, serie 6, VI (1935), pp. 8-28, figs. 1-4.

<sup>89</sup> This sherd is described in part II (324)—it was made available through the courtesy of Dr. Robert Zahn and Dr. W. Kraiker.

<sup>90</sup> Guthrie, *op. cit.*, p. 124. This suggestion is based on the observation that the figure labelled *Kabiros* in a famous Cabiric vase is undoubtedly the Dionysus of Attic vases. Fig. 12 in Guthrie shows the vase (= *Ath. Mitt.*, XIII (1888), pl. IX, also reproduced in Roscher, *loc. cit.*, col. 2538, fig. 3).

<sup>91</sup> *Met.*, XI, 8.

<sup>92</sup> Robert Eisler takes up in detail the various problems of the connections of Orpheus with Christianity: *Orpheus the Fisher, Comparative studies in Orphic and Early Christian Cult Symbolism*, London, 1921; "Orphisch-dionysische Mysteriengedanken in der christlichen Antike," *Vortraege der Bibliothek Warburg*, II, II, 1922-23. Unfortunately the books are marred by extreme views. Cf. also Guthrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-271; Roscher, *loc. cit.*, cols. 1202-1207 (Orpheus in Christian art); A. Heussner, *Die altchristliche Orpheusdarstellungen*, Cassel, 1893.

that the artistic representation of the Good Shepherd stems from the representation of the pagan Orpheus among the animals.<sup>93</sup> Some of the representations show Orpheus with his animals in the midst of Christian scenes. In such objects he undoubtedly is to be thought of as the Good Shepherd. Nevertheless the figure still retains pagan attributes. For example in a painted ceiling from the Catacomb of Domitilla (third century A. D.) he wears the Phrygian cap, tunic, cloak and trousers, but four of the scenes surrounding this octagonal picture are Biblical.<sup>94</sup> Eisler's explanation is that many Christians took over Orpheus into Christianity—this then is the first example of the taking over into popular symbolism of a pagan idea.<sup>95</sup>

There is no doubt about the pagan origin of most of the objects pertaining to Orpheus which are included in part II, but a question has been raised about three of the reliefs, the two ivory pyxides, and one of the mosaics. The relief from Aegina, now in the Byzantine Museum at Athens (510), has been considered Christian, but there is nothing in it which is incompatible with a pagan origin. The other two reliefs are closely connected with this: in the case of the one in the Tschinili-Kiosk (511), many of the details are missing and only a comparison with the relief from Aegina suggests that

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<sup>93</sup> It has been suggested that the conception of Christ as the Good Shepherd was developed from the Iranian conception of Yima, the Good Shepherd: J. Strzygowski, *The Origin of Christian Church Art* (tr. by Dalton and Braunscholtz, Oxford, 1923), pp. 122, 158, 178. This conception may have had some influence. If so, it is of interest to note that, according to legend, at the end of his thousand year reign Yima, blinded by folly, gave his sister in marriage to a demon and married a demoness himself—the offspring of these marriages were tailed apes—A. J. Carnoy, "Iranian Mythology," *The Mythology of All Races*, VI (Boston, 1917), p. 311.

<sup>94</sup> Guthrie, *op. cit.*, p. 262, fig. 18 (a); Eisler, *Orpheus the Fisher*, pl. XXVIII. The four scenes show Daniel in the lions' den, the resurrection of Lazarus, David with his sling, and Moses bringing forth water from the rock.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. "The Orpheus and Good Shepherd Pictures in Early Christian Art," chapter VIII in *Orpheus the Fisher*, pp. 51-58.

there was an ape on the lyre; in the case of the fragment in Berlin (513), only a fragment of the animal on the lyre (probably an ape) is left. Strzygowski was convinced of the possible Christian character of the first two reliefs (510-511) by a detail on the second. Below Orpheus on the base of the relief a cross was chiselled in at one time. It was crudely done—the arms of the cross are only two millimeters broad—not by the artist but by some later person. This proves neither the ancestry of this relief in old Christian art, nor the probability that both replicas had some meaning in the Christian sense as Strzygowski thought.<sup>96</sup> It is far more probable that some Christian, ignorant of the subject of the relief, chipped a cross on it as propaganda, or just for amusement. Moreover the similar relief from Sabratha (512) could not be the Good Shepherd, since the main figure is not a man but a mere boy—a variation possible for an artist carving Orpheus, but not for one carving the Good Shepherd. Also it seems certain that the very presence of the ape shows the pagan character of the Aegina relief (and of the other two, if the animal was originally present). A pagan artist would feel no compunctions about burlesquing Orpheus, but a Christian artist would probably not burlesque the Good Shepherd. The two ivory pyxides—one at Bobbio (351) and the other in Florence (352)—were undoubtedly used by the Christians for sacred purposes. Earlier authors assumed that these were of Christian origin.<sup>97</sup> Grisar was certain the first was pagan, but thought the second might be Christian. Graeven and Dalton considered them pagan. There is nothing in either inconsistent with the interpretation of these two cups as pagan—the beast hunts and the scenes from rural life are regular subjects in the repertoire of a pagan artist. More-

<sup>96</sup> J. Strzygowski, *Roem. Quart.*, IV (1890), pp. 105-106; for a restatement of his views cf. *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, XXIV (1901), pp. 144-149.

<sup>97</sup> Cahier and Rohault de Fleury: this view is followed by Venturi. For these and the other references cf. the bibliography for these cups in part II.



over the principle stated above in connection with the relief from Aegina, that the ape would not occur in a design of Christian origin, is quite as cogent here. Finally one mosaic calls for comment. This mosaic found at Jerusalem has been included, despite the fact that the animal balanced on the lyre of Orpheus is not a monkey (496). It is in the position which the ape holds in the three reliefs, and in the pyxis at Bobbio, but is probably a cat or a weasel. The mythological figures are somewhat like those on the pyxides. But the mosaic is Christian in its origin as is shown by the presence of two haloed women in a companion mosaic in the same floor. The artist seems to have copied a pagan prototype containing a monkey, and to have substituted another animal to avoid the parody implied in the monkey.

An interesting fresco from Byzantine times was probably influenced by the ape as a parody of the musician. The fresco from Kuseir 'Amra depicts the Three Ages of Man: a rectangle, cut by six oblique bands each way, contains seven men, eight birds and sixteen animals in the thirty-one spaces thus formed. The three main spaces show a boy, a man, and an old man (the three ages). The three spaces on either side show four men (three dancing, and one playing a pipe) and two Barbary apes (one seated on a table playing a lyre, the other standing in the position of a dancer). The apes are obviously caricatures of the men, while all of the other animals and the birds are merely decorative.<sup>98</sup> It is also interesting to note that many of the carved ivory draughtsmen of the twelfth century A. D. contained animal figures which may have been influenced by the animals of these representations (probably through manuscript drawings).<sup>99</sup> Of these draughtsmen one in the British Museum shows an ape holding some object in its right forepaw and wearing a collar and leash which it holds in its forepaw.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> R. Eisler, *Vortraege*, II, II (1922-3), pl. I, fig. 7.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era—in the British Museum* (London, 1909), pp. 74-76.

<sup>100</sup> Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 82, no. 188, pl. LII.

A summary of the conclusions about those scenes which show Orpheus surrounded by animals among which is an ape includes: the ape is a parody of Orpheus; the parody is a friendly parody introduced by pagan artists as a jest; the ape was not included among the animals when the scene was used by Christian artists.

#### THE APE AS A PET AND A PERFORMER

Apes were used widely as pets in ancient times—probably more widely than at the present time. Most of these pets were Barbary apes and Ethiopian monkeys, which are in the main hardy and long-lived in captivity. It has been noted that the apes represented in two Etruscan tomb paintings were probably paintings of real pets (474-475). These animals were not only pets of private individuals but were also pets of entertainers to whom they were of commercial value. However like trained dogs and similar animals they enjoyed a status quite different from that of the ordinary commercially owned wild animal whose fate in Roman empire times was to be killed in the arena. The value of the ape lay in its ability to perform amusing and difficult tricks. Hence apes were usually owned by individual performers and had the status of a pet even where used for exhibitions.

The finds of figurines representing animals in the graves of children may reflect to a certain degree the use of some of these animals as pets by the children during their lifetime. Two ape-formed figurines were found under such circumstances (32, 298). Also apes are portrayed on three tombstones (504, 507a-b), on three others the animal accompanies its master in the reliefs (505-507). A toy oenochoe, presumably from a set of children's dishes, contains a picture of an ape (319), a school scene on a vase shows three pets, a cat, a dog and an ape (320). A toy whistle is molded in the form of an ape (119). In a Pompeian wall painting a boy is forcing his pet ape to dance (479). This last scene is somewhat similar to a scene in Claudian where a boy brings

into a banquet as a jest a pet ape in a robe which does not cover its buttocks<sup>101</sup>—the ape in the painting is dressed in a short white jacket.

Pindar noticed apes as children's pets when he said that apes were always beautiful to children.<sup>102</sup> At that point he is using the term to decry a flattering rival at the court of Hiero, and contrasting the immature judgment of children who are satisfied by superficialities with the mature judgment of men. The word used is *πίθων* which is probably to be distinguished as a word applied to a young ape, as it is in a fable.<sup>103</sup> This passage is referred to by Galen without specific mention of Pindar's name.<sup>104</sup> This passage in Pindar is probably analogous to the use of the word *καλλίας* ("the pretty one") for the ape.<sup>105</sup> This word is generally explained as an Attic euphemism for ape.<sup>106</sup> These explanations are

<sup>101</sup> In *Eutropium*, I, 303-306.

<sup>102</sup> *Pyth.*, II, 72-73, cf. McDermott, *T. A. P. A.*, LXVI (1935), pp. 169-170. To the references there cited add C. M. Bowra, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLVIII (1937), pp. 9-21. Bowra considers the ape Bacchylides, an identification made by the scholiast. This is, of course, a possibility, but his suggestion that the imitative character of the beast, set beside some imitations of Pindar by Bacchylides, proves the identification, is not conclusive. Other of Pindar's enemies may have been imitative. Moreover the ape had various characteristics and Pindar's lines do not stress this aspect of the animal.

<sup>103</sup> *Fabulae Aesopicae collectae*, 364, 4 (ed. Halm); Babrius, *Fab.*, 56, 4. Phrynichus defines it as a name of affection for an ape: *Lex.*, s. v. *πίθων*. Hesychius defines it merely as an ape: *Lex.*, s. v., *πήθων* (sic).

<sup>104</sup> *De usu partium*, I, 22 (ed. Kuehn, II, p. 80); cf. also Eustathius, *Ad Odyss.*, V, 66 (1523, 64-1524, 1).

<sup>105</sup> It is defined as ape: Hesychius, *Lex.*, s. v. *καλλίαρ* (the Doric form): I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I (Berlin, 1814), p. 190, 20. The compound word in Hesychius (*Lex.*, s. v. *δημοκαλλίας*) is merely a synonym for *δημοπίθηκος* (Aristophanes, *Ranae*, 1085).

<sup>106</sup> Galen, *In Hippocratis prognosticum comm.*, III, 7 (ed. Kuehn, XVIII, B, p. 236); *In Hippocratis de fracturis comm.*, III, 51 (XVIII, B, p. 611); Helladius (in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 279, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CIV, cols. 321-322); *Appendix Prov.*, III.

based on the use of the word by Dinarchus, who refers contemptuously to those who feed apes (*καλλίας*) in their homes.<sup>107</sup> However the contempt for those who keep apes as pets does not, as the later grammarians thought, prove that the word is a contemptuously used euphemism. The ape in Dinarchus is a pet—and the name he used is an affectionate pet name. The only other early passage in which the word is used shows a verification of this meaning. In one of the *Mimes* of Herodas Metrotime brought her spoiled boy to a schoolmaster Lampriscus, for subjugation—one of his tricks was to sit on the roof-top like an ape (*καλλίας*).<sup>108</sup> Again the word obviously applies to a house pet.

Galen in another place speaks of the ape as a pet, leaping in play with boys.<sup>109</sup> One of the descriptions of paintings given by Philostratus is concerned with a panoramic landscape picture of the sea and islands. Among other islands there was one set aside for the amusement of a young prince. On it was a theater large enough for him and his playmates, and a hippodrome large enough for miniature races. In these races Melitaeen dogs ran instead of horses and the drivers were the apes which the boy used as attendants.<sup>110</sup> It is extremely doubtful whether such detail could be put in a picture—Philostratus may have been adding details from some sight he had seen. That the apes actually performed acts ordinarily done by the boy's attendants is quite possible. In the *Talmud* it is noted that they could be trained to clear out vessels and pour water over the hands of guests.<sup>111</sup> In modern times in

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40 (*Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum*, ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin, I, p. 424); Bekker, *op. cit.*, I, p. 225, 6; Suidas, *Lex.*, s. v. *καλλίας*.

<sup>107</sup> *Fragm.*, 17 (*Oratores Attici*, ed. Mueller, Paris, 1868, II, p. 455).

<sup>108</sup> III, 40-41.

<sup>109</sup> *De usu partium*, III, 16 (ed. Kuehn, III, p. 264).

<sup>110</sup> *Imagines*, II, 17, 13.

<sup>111</sup> J. Jacobs in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, I (New York and London, 1901), p. 652, s. v. *Apes*.

the country south of Abyssinia they were, according to Sir J. G. Wilkinson, trained to hold torches at banquets.<sup>112</sup>

Ownership of pet apes was not confined to children. They were amusing enough to entertain older people.<sup>113</sup> Even the fiercer cynocephalus might be a pet; P. Veditus, a rascally friend of Pompey, at one time took one with him in his chariot.<sup>114</sup> People in all stations had them as pets: an Egyptian king,<sup>115</sup> Cleopatra,<sup>116</sup> the king of the Molossi,<sup>117</sup> a butcher,<sup>118</sup> a sailor,<sup>119</sup> a merchant travelling at sea.<sup>120</sup> In a play of Plautus a pet ape scampering over the roof-tiles complicates the plot.<sup>121</sup> Laberius speaks of a druggist who loved an ape:<sup>122</sup> Martial playing on words said that Cronius loved an ape like (*similem*) himself.<sup>123</sup> Twice the food of the pet apes is mentioned—green vetch, rotten apples.<sup>124</sup> Of course many of the pets were more fortunate than this—the cynocephalus in Egypt ate cooked meat and nuts and drank wine, in addition the animals were quite particular about the way the meat was cooked.<sup>125</sup> Martial wrote a tag to go with a gift consisting of a well-trained ape.<sup>126</sup>

On the vase which shows Arcesilas seated on a ship being loaded, a pet ape squats in the rigging (311). Those apes

<sup>112</sup> *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (new ed. by S. Birch, New York, 1878), I, pp. 381-382.

<sup>113</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, 64E; Athenaeus, *Deipn.*, XIV, 613d.

<sup>114</sup> Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, VI, 1, 25.

<sup>115</sup> Lucian, *Piscator*, 36.

<sup>117</sup> Cicero, *De divinatione*, I, 34, 76.

<sup>116</sup> Lucian, *Apologia*, 5.

<sup>118</sup> Phaedrus, *Fab.*, III, 4.

<sup>119</sup> *Fabulae Aesopicae collectae*, 363 (ed. Halm).

<sup>120</sup> Timotheus, *De animalibus*, 51 (ed. Haupt, *Hermes*, III, 1869, p. 27).

<sup>121</sup> *Miles gloriosus*, 162, 179, 261, 284, 505.

<sup>122</sup> *Cretensis*, 40-41 (Ribbeck, *Scaenicae Romanorum poesis fragmenta*, II, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1898, p. 346). This refers to a real ape, not to an evil man as Ribbeck supposed—cf. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 3.

<sup>123</sup> VII, 87, 4.

<sup>124</sup> Crobilus, *Incertae fabulae*, no. 9 (Th. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta*, III, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 381-382) from Athenaeus, *Epitome Deipn.*, II, 54e; Juvenal, *Sat.*, V, 153.

<sup>125</sup> Aelian, *N. A.*, X, 30.

<sup>126</sup> XIV, 202.

which appear in art objects tied by leashes, fastened by chains, or with collars around their necks are pets (308, 314, 338, 411, 417-418, 422, 431, 440, 442, 474-475, 492, 546-547). One figurine shows a grotesque man with an ape (70), two show negroes with apes (81, 207). Twice apes are shown as pets in scenes with women (321, 492). In a mosaic a pet ape with a cage on its back climbs a rope fastened to a tree (495). Apes appear at banquets in art as well as in literature (343, 345, 349).<sup>126</sup>

The use of apes as pets did not go uncensured. Theophrastus mocks the man of petty ambition who keeps an ape or a monkey.<sup>127</sup> Eubulus considered it far better to raise a man than a goose, a sparrow or an evil ape.<sup>128</sup> Ptolemy VII tells the story of men who came to Massinissa, king of Mauretania (really Numidia) to buy apes. The king sarcastically asked if their wives bore no children.<sup>129</sup> The same story is told of Augustus.<sup>130</sup> Clement of Alexandria bitterly attacked those who associated with low companions and kept parrots, peacocks and apes as pets to amuse them at dinner, instead of caring for widows, orphans and preachers.<sup>131</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus speaks with disgust of a pet ape wearing a gold collar, saying that such an ornament does not change a ridicu-

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<sup>126</sup> Cf. R. Zahn, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VI (1933), p. 180, note 42. The small figure in a terracotta relief from Larisa in Aeolis is a child, not an ape (497).

<sup>127</sup> *Characteres*, XXI. The second word is *πίρρος*, which the scholiast defines as an ape having a short tail.

<sup>128</sup> *Charites*, 115 (Kock, *op. cit.*, II, Leipzig, 1884, p. 205) from Athenaeus, *Deipn.*, XII, 519a.

<sup>129</sup> *Fragm.*, 8 (Mueller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, III, p. 188) from Athenaeus, *Deipn.*, XII, 518f.

<sup>130</sup> Plutarch, *Pericles*, 1.

<sup>131</sup> *Paedagogus*, III, 4, 30; *σικίντροι τέρασι* means "monsters which dance," i. e. apes. The Thersites mentioned to whom the dissolute ladies listen is either an ape or a deformed jester (for Thersites as an ape cf. Plato, *De republica*, X, 620C: in Lycophron he is ape-formed, *Alexandra*, 1000). The statement later in the same paragraph that the preachers are more handsome than apes shows that one or both phrases mean apes.

lous form.<sup>132</sup> At this place a satiric attack on Prince Rupert, the grandson of James I, may be cited. He had a pet monkey of which he was very fond. Two anonymous pamphlets described that monkey in an extremely coarse fashion, ascribing to it all the vices which the pamphleteer considered those of that unpopular general: the monkey was a plunderer, a cavalier, a papist, an imitator of the French and a wanton. These qualities neatly combined the popular conception of Rupert and some of the qualities often assigned to apes.<sup>133</sup>

It is well-known that the infra-human primates all show a high grade receptivity. Chimpanzees respond more readily in complex situations than other anthropoid apes and than apes in general, but all apes are to some degree teachable.<sup>134</sup> This was noted and even exaggerated in ancient times. The ape performing various human actions was seen in humorous art, and the literary sources give a variety of information about this. Diodorus said that the sphinx could receive systematic instruction; Clement in attacking idolatry said that apes were not deceived by figurines and toys.<sup>135</sup> According to Aetius, Pythagoras and Plato thought that brutes had the power of reasoning, but did not follow it because of bad temperament and a lack of speech. According to them dogs and apes thought but did not speak.<sup>136</sup> Porphyrius in his

<sup>132</sup> *Carmina*, II, II, 4, 173-174 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XXXVII, col. 1518).

<sup>133</sup> *An Exact Description of Prince Rupert's Malignant She-Monkey* (1643) and *The Humorous Tricks of Prince Roberts She-Monkey* (1643): these are discussed by R. Brice Harris, *The Beast in English Satire from Spenser to John Gay* (ms. diss., Harvard, 1930), pp. 143-146.

<sup>134</sup> W. Koehler, *The Mentality of Apes* (tr. by E. Winter, London, 1925), especially pp. 275-276; R. M. and A. W. Yerkes, *The Great Apes* (New Haven, 1929), *passim* and particularly pp. 573-578 (comparison of primates); H. Kluever, *Behaviour Mechanisms in Monkeys* (Chicago, 1933), *passim*.

<sup>135</sup> Diodorus, III, 35, 4; Clement, *Protrepticus*, IV, 58.

<sup>136</sup> *Placita*, V, 20, 4 (Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, Berlin, 1879, p. 432). This is preserved in the epitome ascribed to Plutarch (*Moralia*, 909A). Diels reads *νοῦσι* in the last line for *λαλοῦσι* of the mss.

argument against the killing and eating of animals says that they learn to do many things which they could not possibly do if they were not endowed with reason—he does not mention the ape but his list is so similar to the actions attributed in other places to apes that he must be referring to them.<sup>137</sup>

Various aptitudes were attributed to apes, of which only three are definitely impossible—chess-playing, reading and writing.<sup>138</sup> A terracotta shows an ape reading a book-roll (166). Pliny reports Mucianus who said that apes played some type of chess with nuts made of wax.<sup>139</sup> On a lamp two apes seem to be playing some kind of game (564). Two apes playing chess are carved on the capital of a column in the east choir of the Cathedral of Naumburg (thirteenth century A. D.).<sup>140</sup>

Apes could dance,<sup>141</sup> play the flute<sup>142</sup> or the harp,<sup>143</sup> walk on stilts,<sup>144</sup> and carry pay in a bag like a beggar.<sup>145</sup> They could ride<sup>146</sup> or drive a chariot,<sup>147</sup> hurl a javelin and dodge

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The emendation is probably correct, but the fundamental idea is the same in either case.

<sup>137</sup> *De abstinencia*, III, 15; cf. Jacobs comment in his note on Aelian, *N. A.*, V, 26 (*Aeliani de natura animalium libri XVII*, Jena, 1832). Cf. also Plutarch, *Moralia*, 962C (*De sollertia animalium*, 4). Isidore finds it necessary to deny the possession of reason by apes (*Etym.*, XII, 2, 30).

<sup>138</sup> Aelian, *N. A.*, VI, 10; Horapollon, *Hieroglyphica*, I, 14; Porphyrius, *loc. cit.*

<sup>139</sup> *H. N.*, VIII, 215.

<sup>140</sup> R. Piper, *Das Tier in der Kunst* (Munich, 1922), p. 114, fig. 91.

<sup>141</sup> Lucian, *Piscator*, 36; *Apologia*, 5; *Fabulae Aesopicae collectae*, 44, 338, 360, 365 (ed. Halm); Aelian, *N. A.*, V, 26; VI, 10; XVII, 25; Clement, *Paedagogus*, III, 4, 30; Gregorius Nyssenus, *Ad Harmonium* (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XLVI, cols. 239-242); Porphyrius, *De abstinencia*, III, 15.

<sup>142</sup> Aelian, *loc. cit.*; Porphyrius, *loc. cit.*

<sup>143</sup> Aelian, *N. A.*, VI, 10; Porphyrius, *loc. cit.*

<sup>144</sup> Porphyrius, *loc. cit.*

<sup>145</sup> Aelian, *N. A.*, VI, 10.

<sup>146</sup> Juvenal, *Sat.*, V, 155 (on a goat); Aelian, *N. A.*, V, 26; Porphyrius, *loc. cit.* (on a horse); Luxorius (*Anthologia Latina*, ed. Riese, Leipzig, 1869, I, 1, no. 330) (on a dog).

<sup>147</sup> Aelian, *loc. cit.*; Porphyrius, *loc. cit.*; Philostratus, *Imagines*, II, 17, 13.



darts in burlesque of the gladiators,<sup>148</sup> or shoot with a bow and arrow.<sup>149</sup> Most of these actions have been found among the artistic objects discussed in the preceding section. Apes were dressed in fancy costumes<sup>150</sup> or in armor.<sup>151</sup> This gave rise to the proverb mentioned above, "the ape in purple." Many of these references may reflect real theatrical performances.

In various ways the display of the trained ape became well known. At a festival at Sardis apes danced.<sup>152</sup> In a play of Aristophanes a Boeotian offers to trade fish and fowl to Dicaeopolis for an informer to exhibit like an ape full of tricks.<sup>153</sup> Juvenal speaks of an armed ape riding on a goat performing for the amusement of spectators outside the Servian wall.<sup>154</sup> Apuleius describes a procession in honor of Isis. Four of the figures are parodies—an ape in a silk robe and a Phrygian cap holding a golden cup represents Gany-mede, an old man with an ass to which feathers have been glued represents Bellerophon with Pegasus. The fourth

<sup>148</sup> Juvenal, *loc. cit.*; Martial, XIV, 202; Porphyrius, *loc. cit.*

<sup>149</sup> Porphyrius, *loc. cit.*

<sup>150</sup> *Fabulae Aesopicae collectae*, 360 (ed. Halm); Martial, XIV, 128; scholiast *Ad Juv. Sat.*, V, 143; Lucian, *Piscator*, 36; *Apologia*, 5; *Philopseudes*, 5; Apuleius, *Met.*, XI, 8; Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Carmina*, II, II, 4, 173-4 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XXXVII, col. 1518); Gregorius Nyssenus, *Ad Harmonium* (Migne, *op. cit.*, XLVI, cols. 239-242); Claudian, *In Eutropium*, I, 303-305.

<sup>151</sup> Juvenal, *Sat.*, V, 154.

<sup>152</sup> Strabo, XIII, 626. The text reads *καλάθους* ("baskets") and Strabo expresses surprise at the absurdity of it. It has been suggested that it means that maidens carrying baskets dance, but it is better to suppose that the story was told about apes, and Strabo misunderstood it. The text should not be emended to *πιθήκους*, as has been suggested because then Strabo's surprise could not be explained. The mistake was Strabo's, not that of a copyist of the ms.

<sup>153</sup> *Acharn.*, 904-907.

<sup>154</sup> *Sat.*, V, 153-155. Cf. McDermott, *T. A. P. A.*, LXVII (1936), p. 161.

figure, a bear in female clothing may be Isis.<sup>155</sup> An interesting parallel to the figure of the ape is a lamp on which Ganyমে in the form of an ape is being carried away by an eagle (561). The most interesting instance of an exhibition of apes is the fable discussed above in which one or more apes were exhibited in robes and masks doing the Pyrrhic dance.<sup>156</sup> The version of this story given by Gregory of Nyssa varies from that of Lucian in one important point. In Lucian the apes belong to an Egyptian king (or to Cleopatra), in Gregory the ape is the property of an Alexandrian juggler.<sup>157</sup> Jugglers (*circulatores*) often had trained animals as part of their entertainment.<sup>158</sup> On a series of lamps just such a juggler is shown, to one side is an ape, to the other a dog (?) climbing a ladder, above are two hoops for the animals to jump through (514-536). On another lamp an ape (?) and a bear are shown on a lamp—they probably form part of the menagerie of a juggler (562). A mosaic recently found may represent a band of travelling entertainers with their apparatus which includes a monkey (?) (494). An ape with a quail-box on its back and a lantern in its right forepaw may have been a juggler's attendant (568).

Apes may well have been used in more formal entertainment in the theaters, as well as in roadside shows. The evidence for this is somewhat vague and inconclusive. The human actions to be found in humorous art may reflect performances,

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<sup>155</sup> *Met.*, XI, 8. The suggestion of Bachofen that the ape is here because the cynocephalus was sacred to the Egyptian moon-god (Thoth) is untenable, because this is obviously not the cynocephalus—the word used is *simia*, and Apuleius unlike many of the authors of his day was an expert in Egyptian customs. Cf. J. J. Bachofen, *Versuch ueber die Graebersymbolik der Alten* (new edition, Halle, 1925), p. 113.

<sup>156</sup> Lucian, *Piscator*, 36; *Apologia*, 5.

<sup>157</sup> *Ad Harmonium* (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XLVI, col. 239).

<sup>158</sup> Roman law took cognizance of this in a statement that a juggler could be sued if a snake belonging to him harmed anyone: *Digesta*, XLVII, 11, 11.

but there is little indication whether such performances were in theaters (or amphitheaters), or were part of the informal performances just mentioned. A lost play by the Doric comic poet Epicharmus was called *Ἰθώρ* which may be *The Ape*. This play may have taken its name from the presence of an ape in the cast, or from the characteristics of some protagonist.<sup>159</sup> It has been suggested above that the ape, or an actor dressed to represent the animal may have been part of dramatic performances given at the Cabirium in Boeotian Thebes, but this is quite indefinite.<sup>160</sup> Hercules who carries two apes (Cercopes) in a basket may have been taken from a south Italian farce (325). Several figurines may show a theatrical connection: three masks (91-93), an ape holding a mask (198), an ape burlesquing a tragic actor (288). There is no basis for the idea sometimes put forward that the conception of the satyrs in satyr-dramas was affected by the knowledge of anthropoid apes or baboons.<sup>161</sup>

An example of the use of an ape on the English stage is interesting for comparison. In 1589 during the Marprelate controversy in a skit on the stage an ape, representing "Martin," tried to violate a woman, representing the lady Divinity, and went through a series of obscene actions.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> *Fragm.*, 123 (Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, I, Berlin, 1899, pp. 111-112) from Pollux, X, 179 (*Lexicographi Graeci*, IX, 2, Leipzig, 1931). The word is accented according to Kaibel, but if it were an oxytone it would mean "the cellar." Unfortunately Pollux gives no hint of the contents of the play.

<sup>160</sup> Pp. 126-127.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. above, pp. 79-84. In one passage Aelian says that cynocephali violated the young children of Menander in the night festivals (*N. A.*, V, 19). Presumably this refers to an Egyptian town named Menander, but it is just possible that the word for "night festivals" should be capitalized in which case it would signify a play by Menander named *Pannychides*. However none of the collections of comic fragments lists such a play and the scene, or even the description of the scene would be gruesome in a play. Cf. Jacobs' note on the passage in Aelian: *Aeliani de natura animalium libri XVII*, Jena, 1832.

<sup>162</sup> J. D. Wilson in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, III (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 446-447.

## LITERARY HUMOR AND SATIRE

Most of the references to apes in ancient times, even those in works devoted to biology, contain some hint of humor and satire. Many of these have been discussed in the preceding chapters. However many references, particularly those in comedy and satire, call for treatment in a special section.<sup>163</sup>

Three main features are at the basis of the use of the ape in literary humor and satire. The most dominant is its striking likeness to man combined with a marked distinction from man. Ennius spoke of "the ape, that vile beast, so similar to us" (*simia quam similis turpissima bestia nobis*).<sup>164</sup> When Arnobius attacked the pagans for assuming that the gods were anthropomorphic because of the excellence of the human form, he acutely observed that all the qualities of excellence in that form could be attributed by some authority to the monkey.<sup>165</sup> The second feature is the tendency of the ape to imitate man's actions.<sup>166</sup> The third feature was that men assigned to apes certain social or moral characteristics, largely because of exterior similarities. Often this was unjust to the ape, since in general the social or moral, if that word may be used, faults of apes are more natural and less vicious than those of men. The social and moral attitude most often assigned to apes was that of sycophancy and hypocrisy. A striking example is found in one of the dialogues of Lucian. Parrhesiades presents the indictment against the false philosophers, and finally Truth suggests that he test the philosophers and brand the false ones on the forehead with the sign of a fox or an ape.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> This section has been considerably shortened because the author has discussed many of the passages referring to the ape in classical literature in more detail and from the point of view of their literary setting in two articles—*T. A. P. A.*, LXVI (1935), pp. 165-176; LXVII (1936), pp. 148-167.

<sup>164</sup> *Fragm. Sat.*, 69 (*Ennianae poesis reliquiae*, 3rd ed. by I. Vahlen, Leipzig, 1928, p. 211) from Cicero, *De natura deorum*, I, 35, 97.

<sup>165</sup> *Adversus gentes*, III, 16.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. for example Aelian, *N. A.*, V, 26.

<sup>167</sup> *Piscator*, 46-47.

Two examples of the use of the ape in satire are particularly significant because one comes early in Greek times, the other late in the Roman Empire—thus they show the long use of the motive. Simonides of Amorgus in a bitter attack on women divides them into nine types. These Zeus created from the pig, the fox, the dog, mud, the ass, the weasel, the horse, the ape and the bee. Only the woman created from the bee is good, and of the others the worst is the one created from the ape, since she is ugly and provokes laughter. Her physical features resemble the ape's—a deformed face, a short neck, lean legs and no buttocks. To these physical deformities are added a selfish and evil disposition.<sup>168</sup> One point is particularly appropriate—the application of the adjective *ἄπυγος* ("without buttocks") to this type, since the peculiar formation of the posterior of the ape was well known. This was a marked sign of ugliness to the Greeks, who applied the opposite adjective to Aphrodite (*καλλίπυγος*).<sup>169</sup> A late writer contrasts ugliness and beauty by speaking of an ape beside Aphrodite.<sup>170</sup> In the fourth century A. D. Claudian bitterly attacks Eutropius, the eunuch consul under Arcadius. The most telling part of the attack is the comparison of the weazened old man loaded down with the consular regalia to an ape dressed in silk.<sup>171</sup>

Comedy used the ape as an example and as an epithet. Phrynichus attacked four contemporaries as apes—ignoble, flattering and spurious.<sup>172</sup> Aristophanes called Panaetius, a

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<sup>168</sup> *Fragm.*, 7, lines 71-82 (Bergk, *Poetae lyriici Graeci*, II, p. 742) from Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, 73, 61.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. Athenaeus, *Deipn.*, XII, 554 c-d. This is generally true of the inhabitants of the near East: cf. "The Tale of Kamar al-Zaman" and Burton's note—Sir Richard Burton, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (London, 1885), III, p. 226 (the hundred and seventy-eighth night).

<sup>170</sup> Eustathius, *Hysmine et Hysminia*, IX, 3.

<sup>171</sup> In *Eutropium*, I, 300-307.

<sup>172</sup> *Monotropos* (*Fragm.*, 20, Th. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta*, I, Leipzig, 1880, p. 376) from the scholiast *Ad Aristophanis*

low-born cutler, an ape because of his trickery.<sup>173</sup> Again an ugly old woman is likened to a painted ape,<sup>174</sup> the Spartans are truculent apes<sup>175</sup> and Cligenes is an ape.<sup>176</sup> Apollodorus, in commenting on the pleasures of life without trouble, says that if one lives with beasts and apes (that is with evil men), it is necessary to play the beast and ape yourself.<sup>177</sup> Plautus uses it as an epithet either in mockery or disapproval.<sup>178</sup> In Afranius it is a synonym for trickster.<sup>179</sup> To the references to comedy a number of miscellaneous references may be added. In Lucilius the animal is coupled with *verna* as a synonym for an evil or tricky man, a usage found also in Cicero and Varro.<sup>180</sup> In three writers in the *Anthology* the ugliness of three women is marked by a comparison with apes.<sup>181</sup> In Alciphron a tricky and sycophantic woman is called an ape.<sup>182</sup> In Ammianus Julian is attacked as an ape in purple—a worthless masquerader.<sup>183</sup> In Longus a rich, ugly suitor is an ape.<sup>184</sup>

The use of the ape occurs naturally in certain types of

*aves*, 11. Cf. J. M. Raines, *Classical Philology*, XXIX (1934), p. 339. The play was produced at the great Dionysia in 414 B. C., at the same time as Aristophanes' *The Birds*.

<sup>173</sup> *Aves*, 441; *Insulae* (*Fragm.*, 394, ed. Hall and Geldart) from the scholiast *Ad aves*, 440.

<sup>174</sup> *Ecclesiastousae*, 1072.

<sup>175</sup> *Pax*, 1064-1066.

<sup>176</sup> *Ranae*, 707.

<sup>177</sup> *Adelphoi* (*Fragm.*, 1, Kock, *op. cit.*, III, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 288-289) from Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, 121, 13.

<sup>178</sup> *Mostellaria*, 886b; *Truculentus*, 477.

<sup>179</sup> *Temerarius*, 330 (Ribbeck, *Scaenicae Romanorum poesis fragmenta*, II, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1898) from Charisius, 84p.

<sup>180</sup> Lucilius, *Fragm.*, 850 (Baehrens, *Fragmenta poetarum Romanorum*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 255); Cicero, *Ad familiares*, V, 10, 1 (letter by P. Vatinius); VII, 2, 3; VII, 12, 2 (letter by M. Caelius); Varro, *Fragm.*, 11 (*Eurenides*, 127-128, Buecheler, *Petronii satirae*, 6th ed. by Heraeus, Berlin, 1922, p. 195).

<sup>181</sup> Lucilius, *Anthologia Graeca*, XI, 196 (ed. F. Duebner, 3 vols., Paris, 1864-90, II, p. 319); Palladas, *ibid.*, XI, 353 (II, p. 344); Rufinus, *ibid.*, V, 76 (I, p. 73).

<sup>182</sup> *Epist.*, IV, 6, 5.

<sup>183</sup> XVII, 11, 1; cf. XXII, 14, 3.

<sup>184</sup> *Pastoralia*, III, 26.

comparisons. Aristotle notes that, although the ape is less beautiful than the horse, it is more like a man.<sup>185</sup> Quintilian in discussing similes distinguishes between those things which are almost identical, as an egg is like an egg, and those which are somewhat less similar, as an ape is like a man.<sup>186</sup> Heraclitus elaborated this when he said that the most beautiful of apes was ugly compared to man and that the wisest of men was an ape beside god.<sup>187</sup> This parallel was drawn also in rabbinical literature—an ape is to man, as man is to God.<sup>188</sup> This same idea is implied by M. Aurelius when he said a man who was now a beast and an ape would seem a god if he returned to the use of reason.<sup>189</sup> Less closely connected but somewhat similar is the idea in a dialogue of Plato. Socrates in discussing the view of Protagoras that each man is the measure of his own wisdom sarcastically wonders why he didn't say that a pig or a cynocephalus or some other monster was the measure of all things.<sup>190</sup>

In classical times the ape was widely known for its quality of mimicry. In a few cases the word *μῦς* was used as an equivalent of *πίθηκος*.<sup>191</sup> The preliminary step in the introduction of this word can be seen in the phrase used by Ignatius of the enemies of Christ—"man-imitating apes" (*ἀνθρωπόμιμοι πίθηκοι*).<sup>192</sup> It was used by Achmes as a word

<sup>185</sup> *Topica*, III, 2 (117b).

<sup>186</sup> *Inst. Orat.*, V, 11, 30.

<sup>187</sup> *Fragm.*, 82-83 (H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, I, 4th ed., Berlin, 1922, p. 94) from Plato, *Hippias maior*, 289 A-B; echoed in Plotinus, *Enn.*, VI, III, 11, p. 626. Cf. Pope's verses: "Superior beings, when of late they saw | A mortal man unfold all nature's law, | Admired such wisdom in an earthly shape, | And showed a Newton, as we show an ape." Cf. also H. Fraenkel, *A. J. P.*, LIX (1938), pp. 90-91.

<sup>188</sup> J. Jacobs, *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, I (New York and London, 1901), p. 663, s. v. *Apes*.

<sup>189</sup> *Med.*, IV, 16.

<sup>190</sup> *Theaetetus*, 161C, 166C.

<sup>191</sup> *Fabulae Aesopicae collectae*, 366b (ed. Halm); Babrius, *Fab.*, 157; Suidas, *Lex.*, s. v. *πίθηξ*; Eustathius, *Hysmine et Hysminia*, IX, 3.

<sup>192</sup> *Ep. ad Antiochenos*, VI, 2 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, V, col. 904).

for a monkey as distinguished from an ape.<sup>193</sup> The same idea is back of the use in Roman imperial times of the word *simia* (or *simius*) as an exact synonym for *imitator*.<sup>194</sup>

Various words which mean ape were used as proper names: Pithon,<sup>195</sup> Pithecius,<sup>196</sup> Mimon.<sup>197</sup> In these three instances there is probably no connection with the ape. Plautus twice uses Pithecium as a name for a maidservant.<sup>198</sup> The name probably was given because it was a diminutive of the word for ape, but that is not certain. *Simia*, a character in Plautus, was probably named from the Greek proper name Σιμίας, but, since *Simia* is a slave masquerading as a soldier<sup>199</sup> the name

<sup>193</sup> *Onir.*, 280.

<sup>194</sup> Seneca, *Controversiae*, IX, 3, 12; Pliny, *Ep.*, I, 5, 2; Capitolinus, *Maxim. iunior*, 1, 5; Apollonaris Sidonius, *Ep.*, I, 1, 2. This is the use in Horace (*Serm.*, I, 10, 18)—for a discussion of the passage cf. McDermott, *T. A. P. A.*, LXVII (1936), pp. 164-167; to the bibliography there cited add G. D. Kellogg, *Classical Philology*, II (1907), pp. 466-467; T. Frank, "On Horace's Controversies with the New Poets," *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps* (Princeton, 1936), pp. 159-167, esp. p. 160, note 5 and 166, note 13; C. M. Bowra, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLVIII (1937), pp. 9-21.

<sup>195</sup> *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup> (Berlin, 1924), nos. 929, 92; 933, 16; *I. G.*, II/III<sup>2</sup>, 2, 2 (Berlin, 1931), no. 2314, l. 35; I. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, II (Berlin, 1903), p. 20, no. 11817. Chase considered Πίθων καλή on a vase in Boston as a man's name: *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XVII (1906), pp. 145-148. Jahn's suggestion that the name was given to an ugly man because of his resemblance to an ape is hardly tenable, since the man would hardly retain the name: *Archaeologische Beitrage* (Berlin, 1847), p. 434. According to Eustathius (*Ad Odys.*, X, 492—1665, 53) after Tiresias was changed back into a man, he was given the extra name Pithon—whether this has any connection with the ape is uncertain. It has been suggested that the vase-inscription was added by an admirer of Pindar's verse: D. M. Robinson and E. J. Fluck, *A Study of the Greek Love-Names* (Baltimore, 1937), p. 174.

<sup>196</sup> P. Graindor, *B. C. H.*, LI (1927), p. 309, no. 78. The name is λ. Πίθηκος Ἀπολλωνίου dated 165/166 A. D.—the nomen **may have** been Claudius. It is a queer cognomen for the man.

<sup>197</sup> Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, VIII, 125.

<sup>198</sup> *Miles gloriosus*, 989; *Truculentus*, 477.

<sup>199</sup> *Pseudolus*, 905-1051. Cf. K. Schmidt, "Die Griechische Per-



has an appropriate sound, and the playwright may have had the Latin word for ape in mind. In Suetonius a usurer named Paneros was called *cercopithecus*, but this is an epithet not a cognomen.<sup>200</sup> In all these cases where a man has a name which seems to be taken from a word meaning ape the connection is at least doubtful.

Several words or combinations formed from the Greek word for ape all signify some kind of trickery: *πιθηκίζω*,<sup>201</sup> *διαπιθηκίζω*,<sup>202</sup> *πιθηκισμός*.<sup>203</sup> The phrase *αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος* applied by Demosthenes to Aeschines has the same significance with a special thrust at his earlier histrionic career.<sup>204</sup> When Aristophanes called those demagogues who ruined the people *δημοπίθηκοι*, he had the same idea in mind.<sup>205</sup>

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sonennamen bei Plautus," *Hermes*, XXXVII (1902), pp. 206-207; E. F. Wortmann, *De comparationibus Plautinis et Terentianis ad animalia spectantibus* (dissertation, Marburg, 1883), pp. 17-18.

<sup>200</sup> Nero, 30, 2. Cf. McDermott, *T. A. P. A.*, LXVII (1936), p. 153. A comparable instance is found in an inscription on the bottom of a vase from Naucratis—'Απελλαμονεῖον πιθάκο(ν) μίμημαε—around a satyr-like head—cf. F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*, I (Berlin, 1915), p. 206, no. 2629.

<sup>201</sup> Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, 1133 (the non-Attic form used there may reflect a dialect, or the bad grammar of the Scythian); *Vespae*, 1290.

<sup>202</sup> Suidas, *Lex.*, s. v. *διαπιθηκίσαι*; *Etym. Magn.*, 269, 38, s. v. *διαπιθηκίσαι*; I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I (Berlin, 1814), p. 238, 13-15.

<sup>203</sup> Aristophanes, *Equites*, 887; M. Aurelius, *Med.*, IX, 37, 1; Phrynichus, *Epitome*, s. v. *πιθηκισμοί*; Suidas, *Lex.*, s. v. *πιθηκισμοῖς περιελαύνει* (the phrase in Aristophanes).

<sup>204</sup> *De corona*, 242 (307, 25). Aristotle says that Myniscus called Callipides an ape because he over-acted—*De arte poetica*, 26, 2 (1461b). For comment on the phrase used by Demosthenes cf. Hermogenes, *Progyrnastica*, 34; Harpocration, *Lex.*, s. v. *τραγικὸς πίθηκος*.

<sup>205</sup> *Ranae*, 1085; cf. scholiast *a. h. l.* and Phrynichus, *Epitome*, s. v. *δημοπίθηκος*. Luria's interpretation is more subtle, perhaps too much so—the demagogues were not only tricky, their chief characteristic was that they were low-born politicians aspiring to office—*Philologus*, LXXXV (1929-30), pp. 1-22.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE APE AS AN EVIL BEAST

Part of the attitude regularly taken towards the ape at all periods is that the animal is ugly. Consequently even though it is a pet and loved, at times the animal was considered evil and unpropitious. Ugliness in and of itself would account for this. Plutarch remarked that the ape was ugly by nature.<sup>1</sup> Oppian in commenting on apes shows a surprising antipathy to their ugliness and their nature and cites the belief that they smothered their offspring.<sup>2</sup> Where Ennius calls the ape *turpissuma bestia* he combines the idea of physical deformity with moral obliquity, a common though false idea.<sup>3</sup> Juvenal speaks of the extreme ugliness of the ape.<sup>4</sup> Throughout the references to the ape in classical times this idea of deformity and ugliness is present. The most striking of these references is the comparison of Thersites to an ape. In the scene in Plato where souls are offered the free choice of their form in the next life Orpheus chose that of the swan, Agamemnon the eagle, Ajax the lion, but Thersites chose that of the ape.<sup>5</sup> The maimed and deformed body of Thersites, familiar from the description in Homer,<sup>6</sup> was admirably suitable for a comparison with an ape. Lycophron searching for a phrase to

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<sup>1</sup> *Moralia*, 962C.

<sup>2</sup> *Cynegetica*, II, 605-611; cf. above, pp. 46-47.

<sup>3</sup> *Fragm. Sat.*, 69 (Vahlen, *Ennianae poesis reliquiae*, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1928, p. 211); cf. Serenus Sammonicus, *De medicina*, 819 (where the phrase of Ennius is used instead of the word *simia*).

<sup>4</sup> *Sat.*, X, 192-195.

<sup>5</sup> *De republica*, X, 620C. Plato again speaks of the change of form from one re-incarnation to another in the *Timaeus* (42 B-C) and in commenting on this passage Proclus suggested that man's soul did not actually enter the body of a beast, but took on its character, consequently, Proclus continues, Thersites became an ape but did not really enter the ape's body: *In Platonis Timaeum*, 329D. Taylor suggested that the whole account in Plato was parabolic: *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 262-263.

<sup>6</sup> *Il.*, II, 217-219.

describe Thersites without naming him called him "the ape-formed Aetolian" probably a reminiscence of the passage in Plato.<sup>7</sup> Plutarch uses an artistic representation of Thersites or of an ape as an example of the possibility of being pleased not with the beauty of an object portrayed in a painting but with the faithfulness with which it is rendered.<sup>8</sup> When Clement speaks of the pets of a dissolute lady he mentions monsters which dance, and a Thersites. Since later in the passage apes are mentioned it is quite possible that both the monsters and the Thersites were apes—although the latter may have been a dwarf or a deformed entertainer.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to ugliness there was another thing which gave the ape an evil reputation. The temper of the animal is somewhat unsteady, and at times, as the ancients noticed, it bites viciously.<sup>10</sup> Even the propensity for imitation of human actions, usually so entertaining, could have ghastly results. Aelian said that an ape would watch a baby being bathed by its nurse, and later would repeat the action, but because boiling water is used, would kill the baby.<sup>11</sup> Aelian told this as though it were a customary action for the animal and attributed it to the animal's evil nature, but, although the story probably had a real basis, the implication that it was customary and due to evil nature is unwarranted. As a matter of fact references to the evil nature of the ape are not very frequent. Aelian said that cynocephali were lascivious,<sup>12</sup> Horapollon that they were prone to anger,<sup>13</sup> Timotheus that all apes were licentious and brutal.<sup>14</sup> In the glossaries

<sup>7</sup> *Alexandra*, 1000.

<sup>8</sup> *Moralia*, 18A.

<sup>9</sup> *Paedagogus*, III, 4, 30.

<sup>10</sup> Plautus, *Poenulus*, 1074; Celsus, *De medicina*, V, 27, 1A; Serenus Sammonicus, *De medicina*, 819-820; Achmes, *Onir.*, 280. Cf. C. F. Sonntag, *The Morphology and Evolution of the Apes and Man* (London, 1924), p. 47.

<sup>11</sup> *N. A.*, VII, 21.

<sup>12</sup> *N. A.*, VII, 19.

<sup>13</sup> *Hieroglyphica*, I, 14.

<sup>14</sup> *De animalibus*, 51-52 (ed. Haupt, *Hermes*, III, 1869, pp. 27-28).

*pitecus* (i. e. *πίθηκος*) is twice defined as *monstrum*.<sup>15</sup> A unique statement turns up in a late scholiast on Juvenal's statement *malim fraterculus esse gigantis* to the effect that the small brother of the giants, usually explained as ignoble, was the ape.<sup>16</sup>

The evidence for this point of view in art is slight. In the British Museum is a vase on which a woman draped in a long chiton stands facing an ape sitting on a box. The woman has covered her arms and head except the eyes and forehead with a mantle, a gesture which might reflect the idea that the ape was an evil omen (321). On an ascus two apes crawl toward the spout in a sinister fashion—one is armed with a club (323). On one lamp a monkey has torn off its chains and seizes a nude boy who is struggling (546); on another a chained ape has seized a nude woman (547). None of the four items represents serious corroboration, the first is doubtful, the second may be parody, the last two probably reflect the lubricity so common on Roman lamps.

The remainder of this chapter has been divided in three sections which deal with the ape in certain manifestations of its unpleasant side. The first concerns omens, dreams and physiognomy, the second the punishment for parricides, the third its significance in magic and religion.

#### OMENS, DREAMS AND PHYSIOGNOMY

The ape was at times considered an evil omen. This has generally been overemphasized, as will be seen from a review of the evidence. Before the battle of Leuctra in 371 B. C. the Spartan envoys went to the oracle of Zeus at Dodona. The story is told that an ape, the pet of the king of the Molossi upset an urn with the sacred lots, whereupon the priestess

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<sup>15</sup> G. Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*, IV (Leipzig, 1889), p. 144, 5; V (Leipzig, 1894), p. 321, 8.

<sup>16</sup> Juvenal, *Sat.*, IV, 98 and the scholiast, *a. h. l.* Cf. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, I, p. 3.

advised the Spartans to think of safety not victory.<sup>17</sup> A similar tale is told of Antony's inquiries at a temple of Demeter in 32 B. C., the year before Actium.<sup>18</sup> Actually in this story attached to two important events the real point is the disturbance of the procedure rather than the presence of the ape. It is also related that an ape was born to a slave girl in 49 A. D.—here a deformed foetus probably gave rise to the story.<sup>19</sup> Lucian said that to meet an ape when leaving home was an unlucky omen.<sup>20</sup> The last reference is from popular superstition and is the type of fancy usually stated about dreams. In Plautus a dream in which an ape appears twice foreshadows the dramatic action. In one dream the ape represents an ugly but kindly *senex*, in the other a villainous and tricky *leno*.<sup>21</sup> Suetonius said that among the omens which terrified Nero before his death was a dream in which the hindquarters of a favorite horse were turned into those of an ape.<sup>22</sup>

By the second century A. D. the popular superstitions about the misfortunes of seeing an ape in a dream were to be found in a book on the interpretation of dreams by Artemidorus Daldianus. The ape, the cynocephalus, the sphinx, and apes with tails signify, when met in dreams, a crafty and wizard-like man.<sup>23</sup> This superstition was known to the Jews

<sup>17</sup> Cicero, *De divinatione*, I, 34, 76; II, 32, 69. In the first passage Q. Cicero, who is defending the Stoic view of divination, explains this as an important portent; in the second M. Cicero, who is defending the Academic view, claims that it was a most natural action for that monstrous beast (*monstruosissima bestia*).

<sup>18</sup> Cassius Dio, L, 8, 1; Zonaras, *Epitome*, X, 28 (524A).

<sup>19</sup> Phlegon, *Mirabilia*, 22.

<sup>20</sup> *Pseudologista*, 17.

<sup>21</sup> *Mercator*, 229-251, 268-270, 272-276; *Rudens*, 598-610, 771-773. For a fuller discussion cf. McDermott, *T. A. P. A.*, LXVII (1936), pp. 151-152.

<sup>22</sup> *Nero*, 46, 1.

<sup>23</sup> *Onir.*, II, 12 (ed. Hercher, p. 104); IV, 56 (ed. Hercher, p. 234). On the meaning of the meeting of an ape in dreams or otherwise cf. L. Hopf, *Thierorakel und Orakeltiere in alter und neuer Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1888), p. 52.

also.<sup>24</sup> A later dream-book gives much more detailed information. It goes under the name of Achmes (Mohammed ibn Sirin) who died in 728 A. D., but was probably written by a Greek, not earlier than 813 A. D. and not later than 1176 A. D. It was drawn from Arabic sources, including Ibn Sirin, and from earlier sources, probably including Artemidorus, and was written by a Christian not a Mohammedan.<sup>25</sup> The author claims to have drawn his material from the writings of the Indians, Persians and Egyptians. According to this work kissing an ape or a monkey (in a dream) means you are evil, tricky, weak and treacherous.<sup>26</sup> A long chapter on the monkey in dreams has the following points of interest: fighting with a pet monkey means fighting in your own house with a tricky enemy; being bitten by a monkey means injury at the hand of an enemy; eating the flesh of a monkey means sickness or trouble; finding the hide of a monkey means getting the money of a moderately wealthy enemy, being kissed by a monkey means flattery by an enemy; bringing a monkey into your house means having an enemy as a guest. In short the monkey personifies a tricky, evil and deceitful man.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to figuring in the interpretation of dreams, the ape was important in another field of superstitious chicanery—physiognomy. The reading of mental characteristics from the physical attributes of a man seems to have been very popular. In the main this pseudo-science was based on comparison with the characteristics attributed to animals. A whole series of handbooks has been preserved. Two of them lumped together

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. L. Lewysohn, *Die Zoologie des Talmuds* (Frankfurt, 1858), p. 68; J. Jacobs in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, I (New York and London, 1901), p. 662.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the *prolegomena* in *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. Fr. Drexler, Leipzig, 1925. For the Christianity of the author cf. N. Bland, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XVI (1856), pp. 169-171.

<sup>26</sup> *Onir.*, 136. Μιμῶ is used here as a word for an ape with a tail.

<sup>27</sup> *Onir.*, 280; this chapter is supposed to be drawn from the writings of the Egyptians and Persians.

were attributed to Aristotle, but seem to have been written in the second century A. D. A second treatise under the name of Polemo, perhaps the Sophist of the second century A. D., is preserved in an Arabic version, a third by Adamantius, a Jewish physician of the fifth century, was based on Polemo. An anonymous Latin version existed from the end of the fourth century, the version of pseudo-Polemo is late Byzantine, an anonymous Byzantine version dates from the eleventh century.<sup>28</sup> Fundamentally all the information in these treatises is the same. At one place there is a description of the point of view of the physiognomonic writers. The ape and the men like it are evil, ridiculous, vile with small, hollow eyes, hairy cheeks, short necks and wrinkled cheeks.<sup>29</sup> Moreover it is hypocritic and treacherous, as well as prone to flattery.<sup>30</sup> Usually these varied items are taken up separately. A small face, small and hollow eyes indicate the small soul and the villainy of the ape.<sup>31</sup> Small pupils in the eyes mark the timidity of the ape.<sup>32</sup> Thick lips with the upper over-

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<sup>28</sup> The pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica* is regularly included with the minor works of Aristotle (805a-814b). The whole group of writings was published with introductions and a critical text in the Teubner series: *Scriptores physiognomonici*, ed. R. Foerster, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1893. Volume I contains pseudo-Aristotle, *Physiognomonica* with a Latin translation (pp. 4-91); Polemo, *De physiognomonia Arabice et Latina*, ed. G. Hoffman (pp. 98-294); Adamantius, *Physiognomonica* and two epitomes (pp. 297-431). Volume II contains Anonymus Latinus, *De physiognomonia* (pp. 3-145); pseudo-Polemo, *Versio Latina* and other Latin translations of no interest here (pp. 149-222); Anonymus Byzantinus, *Physiognomonica* (pp. 225-232). The Anonymus Latinus, *De physiognomonia*, which was incorrectly ascribed at times to Apuleius was also published by V. Rose, *Anecdota Graeca et Graeco-Latina*, I (Berlin, 1864), pp. 103-169.

<sup>29</sup> Anonymus Latinus, *Phys.*, 124 (*Scr. Phys.*, II, pp. 139-140).

<sup>30</sup> Polemo, *Phys.*, 2 (I, p. 174); Adamantius, *Phys.*, 2, 1 (I, pp. 349-350).

<sup>31</sup> Pseudo-Aristotle, *Phys.*, 6 (811b); Polemo, *Phys.*, 1 (I, p. 108); 2 (I, p. 192); Adamantius, *Phys.*, 1, 5 (I, p. 306); 2, 1 (I, pp. 349-350).

<sup>32</sup> Anonymus Latinus, *Phys.*, 21 (II, p. 32).

hanging the lower show folly like an ass or an ape.<sup>33</sup> Small ears and a short, thick neck show a rapacious and deceitful disposition like that of an ape.<sup>34</sup> An apelike voice betrays anger,<sup>35</sup> lean, bare buttocks show the mischievousness of the ape<sup>36</sup> and a thin body and a stooping posture show an evil nature like that of an ape.<sup>37</sup> At one place cognizance is taken of the possibility that one man may combine the characteristics of several animals—for example a man might combine the insolence of a horse with the malignity of the ape.<sup>38</sup> However no mention is made of the embarrassing possibility that a man's physiognomy might indicate two opposite and mutually exclusive characteristics.

## PARRICIDIUM

The ape was a part of the Roman treatment of a parricide. Such an offender was shod with wood, capped with wolf-skin, beaten with red rods, sewed in a sack with a viper, an ape, a dog and a cock, drawn by black oxen to the nearest sea or river, and hurled into the water. This procedure must not be considered solely as a punishment, its primary and perhaps its sole purpose was a ritual elimination of an evil portent (*procuratio prodigii*).<sup>39</sup> There is disagreement as to the

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<sup>33</sup> Pseudo-Aristotle, *Phys.*, 6 (811a); pseudo-Polemo, *Versio Latina*, 7 (II, p. 153).

<sup>34</sup> Pseudo-Aristotle, *Phys.*, 6 (812a); Anonymus Latinus, *Phys.*, 55 (II, p. 77).

<sup>35</sup> Polemo, *Phys.*, 52 (I, p. 268); Adamantius, *Phys.*, 2, 42 (I, p. 407); Anonymus Latinus, *Phys.*, 78 (II, p. 105).

<sup>36</sup> Pseudo-Aristotle, *Phys.*, 6 (810b). Adamantius, *Phys.*, 2, 9 (I, pp. 359-360); Anonymus Latinus, *Phys.*, 68 (II, p. 88); 87 (II, p. 117).

<sup>37</sup> Anonymus Byzantinus, *Phys.*, 25 (II, p. 231).

<sup>38</sup> Anonymus Latinus, *Phys.*, 132 (II, p. 144).

<sup>39</sup> Particularly *Digesta*, XLVIII, 9, 9. For discussions of the problems involved cf. W. Rein, *Das Criminalrecht der Römer von Romulus bis auf Justinianus* (Leipzig, 1844), pp. 457-459; Hitzig in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopaedie*, IV (Stuttgart, 1901), cols. 1747-1748, *s. v. culleus*; J. L. Strachan-Davidson, *Problems of the Roman*



exact relation of the *lex Pompeia de parricidiis* and the specific provisions of the punishment, and the extent of its application, but these details are not of primary interest here. The enclosure in the sack with the four animals is the fact which is of importance in this discussion. Rein suggested that the four animals were included because of their evil nature.<sup>40</sup> In this he followed certain later commentators.<sup>41</sup> Landgraf thought of the animals as two contrasted pairs: propitious (cock and dog), unpropitious (serpent and ape).<sup>42</sup> But these explanations of this strange group of animals leave the matter completely unsettled. These animals are not ordinarily spoken of in terms which would suggest their inclusion in such a procedure. Even if they are thought of as apotropaean it is surprising to find them here, especially the ape which nowhere else has apotropaic significance.<sup>43</sup>

The presence of the four animals is satisfactorily explained in the article by Radin. It is not necessary here to give in detail the argument. The use of the sack itself and most of the accompanying rites seems to date from very early times. The earlier authors, including Cicero,<sup>44</sup> do not mention the animals. Of these animals only one, the viper, seems a logical one to use in the amplified procedure—this may have been introduced in the *lex Pompeia* (which dates about 81

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*Criminal Law* (Oxford, 1912), I, pp. 21-25; G. Landgraf, *Kommentar zu Ciceros Rede pro Sex. Roscio Amerino* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1914), pp. 147-151; M. Radin, "The *Lex Pompeia* and the *poena cullei*," *J. R. S.*, X (1920), pp. 119-130; H. J. Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy* (London, 1926), pp. 185-191.

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 457. So Keller, *Thiere*, p. 6.

<sup>41</sup> Theophilus' paraphrase of *Institutiones*, IV, 18, 6. Various items in the glossaries: G. Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*, IV (Leipzig, 1889), p. 502, 3; V (Leipzig, 1894), p. 10, 3 (Placidus); p. 60, 1 (Placidus). In the three references in the glossaries the dog is omitted in the list of animals, as it is in Isidore (*Etymol.*, V, 27, 36), a source for these glossaries.

<sup>42</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 149-151.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Radin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 129-130.

<sup>44</sup> *Pro Roscio Amerino*, 25-26, 70-71.

B. C.). The ape was probably added by the Emperor Claudius, because it was an exemplar of ugliness and a caricature of man. If it was not added by Claudius, it must have been added shortly after that, for Juvenal twice mentions it in connection with the punishment of the sack.<sup>45</sup> In the former passage the serpent is added, in the latter the epithet *innoxia* is added to the ape showing that it was probably the general feeling that its inclusion was not appropriate. The dog and the cock were probably added to the viper and the ape by Constantine because they were cult-symbols in the non-Christian, oriental cults, especially that of Mithra. This explanation follows Radin.

Two other items may have some bearing on the matter. The story, mentioned above,<sup>46</sup> that the ape had two offspring, of which it loved the one and hated the other and that of these it smothered the loved one in an excess of affection, may have been current in the first century and have affected the inclusion of this animal. This inclusion may have some connection with an obscure anecdote in Cassius Dio.<sup>47</sup> According to Dio one of the rites practiced by Sardanapalus (i. e. Elagabalus) in honor of his sun-god consisted of shutting up alive in the temple a lion, an ape, and a snake, and of throwing in to them human genitals. There is no known parallel to this procedure, and it may have been invented by the diseased fancy of the young man.

#### MAGIC AND RELIGION

The ape appears in some of the popular magical formulae. Here its character as an evil beast may play some part, but the chief influence is probably the sacred character of the cynocephalus in Egypt, since most of the references are in Greco-Egyptian magical papyri. One example is the use of the eye of an ape smeared with the oil of lilies as a charm.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> *Sat.*, VIII, 214; XIII, 155-156.

<sup>46</sup> Pp. 46-47.

<sup>47</sup> LXXIX, 11, 3.

<sup>48</sup> G. Parthey, "Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Mu-

Of greater interest is the question of the apotropaic use in ancient times of figurines and figure vases representing apes. This question has already been mentioned in connection with Mesopotamian figurines.<sup>49</sup> Perdrizet stated that all of the figurines in Winter's collection of types were placed in graves as phylacteries.<sup>50</sup> Dragendorff explained the ape-formed alabastra from Thera as apotropaea.<sup>51</sup> However undue religious significance seems to have been attached by many archaeologists to the minor artistic finds. In many cases the significance attached to these minor objects is imaginary—in reality they were made to amuse. Particularly in the case of the figure vases the real purpose was not apotropaic, but useful—they held perfume for export. Maximova suggested that they were made for the amusement of the dead,<sup>52</sup> but Professor Robinson long ago pointed out that they were probably to be considered as toys,<sup>53</sup> and so like all other similar items might be buried with the dead. This

seums," *Abhandlungen der k. Akademie der Wissensch. zu Berlin*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1865, pp. 127, 135 (I, 248 in the papyrus); cf. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 6, note 75. For other examples cf. Hopfner, *Tierkult.*, p. 32. For a general discussion of the connection of Greek and Egyptian magic cf. F. Lexa, *La magie dans l'Égypte antique* (Paris, 1925), I, pp. 155-166. Two charms involving apes are given by Pliny (*H. N.*, XXVII, 117; XXXVII, 124). For the use of the cynocephalus in Egyptian magic cf. above, pp. 8-9. In modern Africa the belief is current in several sections that baboons are the servants of witches or wizards: A. Werner, "African Mythology," *The Mythology of All Races*, VII (Boston, 1925), pp. 336, 339, 429.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. above, p. 17.

<sup>50</sup> P. Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes*, V (Paris, 1908), p. 203.

<sup>51</sup> H. Dragendorff, *Theraeische Graeber* (Berlin, 1903—*Thera*, II, ed. by F. Hiller von Gaertringen), p. 124. Cf. B. V. Pharmakovsky, *Période archaïque en Russie*, p. 9, note 1 (cited by M. I. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques*, tr. Carsow, Paris, 1927, I, p. 25, note 1).

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>53</sup> A. J. A., X (1906), p. 420; cf. D. M. Robinson, C. G. Harcum and J. H. Iliffe, *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology* (Toronto, 1930), I, p. 41; H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 171-172.

seems to be the correct conclusion with regard to the minor objects which represent apes.

In Egypt the cynocephalus was sacred, but apes were never given any religious significance in classical mythology and religion. Attempts to show such a religious connection have not been successful. Roes thought that in archaic art the presence of the ape in the minor arts was due to a connection, known to the Greeks, with the solar deity, but it has been pointed out above that it is not at all probable.<sup>54</sup> Roscher connected the ape with Selene and Hecate, but the evidence for that merely points to a use of those Greek names as equivalents for the Egyptian Thoth,<sup>55</sup> the same is true of its connection with Hermes Trismegistos.<sup>56</sup> Timotheus' statement that the ape was loved by Dionysus as the lynx was by Apollo refers only to the fact that apes were fond of wine.<sup>57</sup> The whole attempt to connect the origin of the satyrs of Dionysus with apes is futile.<sup>58</sup> Apes as beasts of evil omen are a part of superstition not religion.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Cf. above, pp. 26-27, 30-31.

<sup>55</sup> W. H. Roscher, *Ueber Selene und Verwandtes* (Leipzig, 1890), pp. 106-107.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Roscher, *Lexikon*, V, cols. 841, 851, s. v. *Thoth*.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. above, pp. 82-83.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. above, pp. 79-84.

<sup>59</sup> Just as the ugliness of the ape made it an evil omen in ancient times, so in the Middle Ages its mimicry connected it with the devil who was considered *simia Dei*; cf. M. Rudwin, *The Devil in Legend and Literature* (Chicago, 1931), pp. 43, 120-129. An English proverb is "the devil is God's ape"; cf. W. G. Smith, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Oxford, 1935), p. 429.



## PART II

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### CATALOGUE

In this part an attempt is made to list those examples of classical art which portray the ape. The limits of the period are somewhat vague. In general, examples of Egyptian manufacture have not been included, but this rule has been sometimes violated, particularly when these objects were found on classical sites. Etruscan and Minoan-Mycenean objects have been included. At the other chronological extreme, some objects which are later than the classical period have been included. It has seemed best to make the bibliographical citations rather extensive. Most of these citations are not abbreviated. Those citations which are abbreviated are amplified in the Bibliography. Because in most cases it was necessary to depend on published material, this catalogue cannot claim to be exhaustive. It is obvious in the case of minor objects such as alabaster and figurines that many museums must contain further examples. For example, Dr. Roes saw a great many unpublished figurines representing apes, in European museums: A. Roes, *Greek Geometric Art* (Haarlem and Oxford, 1933), p. 87.

The classification here used is one which, it is to be hoped, makes it fairly easy to find those objects in which the reader is interested. The material has been divided into three chapters, with seven divisions as follows:

#### Chapter I. Figurines.

- A. Terracotta (1-177).
- B. Bronze (178-261).
- C. Miscellaneous material (262-303).

#### Chapter II. Vases.

- A. Decorated vases (304-352).
- B. Molded figure vases (353-471).

Chapter III. Paintings, mosaics and reliefs (excluding vases).

A. Paintings and mosaics (472-496).

B. Reliefs (497-605).

The numbers included in parentheses are those of the individual items. Those numbers are continuous for this whole part. At the beginning of each of the seven divisions, there is a short statement about the nature of the division and further subdivision.

## CHAPTER I

### FIGURINES

#### A. TERRACOTTA

So numerous are the terracottas that they are subdivided into eleven groups on the basis of the subject matter.

1. *Squatting, seated or standing apes (1-50).*
2. *Riding apes (51-63).*
3. *Apes with young, or men carrying apes (64-82).*
4. *Apes' heads (83-100).*
5. *Apes with musical instruments (101-107).*
6. *Apes with paws to their heads (108-124).*
7. *Apes using a mortar or making bread (125-131).*
8. *Apes eating or drinking (132-144).*
9. *Apes wearing some type of garment (145-163).*
10. *Apes holding miscellaneous objects (164-173).*
11. *Molds for apes (174-177).*

Those figurines which would fall into more than one class have been classified by the more distinctive attribute. The fourth group contains a miscellany; some are heads broken from statuettes, others are masks, or imitations of masks, two are meant to decorate the edges of clay pots. The eleventh group naturally overlaps the others. This division marks the diversity of possibilities in the use of the ape as caricature or burlesque.

The dating of a miscellaneous group of terracottas, such as the one that follows, is extremely difficult. Some of them are dated by the circumstances of their discovery—where this is so, I have noted it. Some may be dated by their style, but in terracottas this is far from being a sure test. Some of them may be approximately dated by the provenience—as for example the ones from Camirus, Ialysus and Lindos on Rhodes. An attempt has been made to keep the order within the subdivisions chronological. In general it may be said that terracotta figurines representing apes occur all through the classical period.



1. *Squalling, seated or standing apes (1-50).*

1. From Mycenae. H. Schliemann, *Mykenae* (Leipzig, 1878), p. 82, fig. 115. A. Roes, *De Oorsprong der geometrische Kunst* (Haarlem, 1931), p. 132.

An ape squats with its hindpaws stretched straight out and its forepaws placed on them. There is a ruff on its neck and its snout is pointed. The shoulders are pierced for suspension. It is probably post-Mycenean.

- 2-3. Athens. National Museum (1535, 1539). From Tanagra. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 1 a, fig. 1.

A crude figurine of a squatting ape with its forepaws on its knees. There are horizontal stripes of paint on both arms and around the forehead. The top of the head is rounded. Ht. 9 cm. Another similar example. Ht. 6.5 cm. These archaic figurines and similar ones are surely apes rather than dogs or bears, although the summary technique makes the identification difficult: cf. A. Roes, *Greek Geometric Art* (Haarlem and Oxford, 1933), pp. 86-87. The type is similar to C. V. A., *The Robinson Collection, Baltimore, Md.* (fasc. 1 = U. S. A., fasc. 4, Cambridge, Mass., 1934), III, H, pl. XII, 14, which however seems to be a dog, rather than an ape.

4. Plate I, 1. Athens. National Museum (3904).

A similar figurine. The ears are large. The parallel stripes (dark on light) have run together in many places. Archaic.

5. Plate I, 2. Athens. National Museum (11 E). From Tanagra. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 1 b.

As above. The eyes are marked by incisions. Ht. 6 cm.

6. Plate I, 3. Athens. National Museum (1047). From Tanagra. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 1 b.

A somewhat similar figurine. The head is rounded, and the ears are not marked, but incisions mark the eyes and snout. In this figurine the parallel stripes are missing. Archaic. Ht. 8 cm.

7. Athens. In the possession of an art dealer (1887). From Boeotia. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 1 c.

As above. Ht. 7 cm.

- 8-14. Skimitari Museum. From Tanagra. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 1 d.

Seven examples as above. Ht. 8 cm.

15. Berlin. The collection of Dr. Otto Rubensohn.

As above.

16. Thebes. Museum. From Rhitsona (Grave 99, no. 53). P. N. Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona in Boeotia* (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 66, 86, pl. XVII.

As above. There are holes for the eyes and nostrils and incisions on the paws. The left ear and forepaw are broken. The ears are huge and the proportions are poor. Ure calls it a monkey or a bear. Early sixth century. Ht. 8.5 cm.

17. Thebes. Museum. From Rhitsona (Grave 101 b, no. 36). Ure, *loc. cit.*

As above. The head is bird-shaped. Ure calls it a monkey or a bear. Early sixth century. Ht. 6.8 cm.

18. Thebes. Museum. From Rhitsona (Grave 126, no. 126). Ure, *op. cit.*, p. 66, pl. XVII. P. N. Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona* (Oxford, 1927), p. 96. A. Roes, *De Oorsprong der geometrische Kunst* (Haarlem, 1931), p. 122, fig. 129.

In general as above. Decorated with red stripes on buff (misfired for black on brown). The head has no features except large pointed ears. It may not be an ape but its similarity to other primitive figurines which are surely apes makes it likely that it is meant for an ape, as Roes says. Middle sixth century. Ht. 8 cm.

19. Rhodes. From Ialysus (grave ccxxiii, 11882, excavations of 1924-8). G. Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, III (Rhodes, 1929), pp. 234, 236; ccxxiii, 1; fig. 233.

A seated terracotta monkey stretching out its arms with the palms of the forepaws uppermost, as if in imitation of a lament, has a cylindrical body and flat bottom. It is of buff clay, and may have been covered with spots which have disappeared. Ht. 7 cm.

20. Rhodes. From Ialysus (grave exciv, 10777, excavations of 1924-28). Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, III (Rhodes, 1929), p. 204; exciv, 1; fig. 201.

A seated monkey with its paws on its knees, leans a little forward. The legs are heavy, out of proportion with arms and shoulders, the details of the head are marked, the hind-paws are broken.

21. Rhodes. From the Acropolis of Lindos (excavations of 1902-14). Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I (Berlin, 1931), col. 470, no. 1905.

A hand-made figurine of red clay represents a crouched ape. The extremities are lacking, and the workmanship is crude. Ht. 4.1 cm.

- 22-24. Istanbul. Museum of Antiquities (4085, 4340). From the Acropolis of Lindos (excavations of 1902-14). G. Mendel, *Catalogue des figurines grecques de terre cuite aux Musées impériaux ottomans* (Constantinople, 1908), p. 52, no. 620; p. 579, no. 3470. Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, I, cols. 580-1, no. 2391; pl. 113.

An ape squats on a rectangular base, with its legs drawn up. Its right paw touches its belly, its left touches its left foot. The paws are summary, the features are carefully done. The figurine is broken just above the knees. Brown clay, white slip, red marking, a finger mark in the bottom. It is molded in front, but is a simple convex plaque behind. There are two similar examples of which one is incomplete at the bottom, the other shows only traces of the white slip. Ht. 7.4 cm.

- 25-26. Rhodes. From the Acropolis of Lindos (excavations of 1902-14). Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, I, col. 581, no. 2394.

A red clay, hand-made figurine without slip or paint, of an ape with cylindrical body. The knees are drawn up, the feet are placed together on a plinth. Ht. 6.5 cm. A second example is fragmentary—it lacks the head, the arms, part of the legs and the plinth.

27. Plate II, 1. New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Cesnola Collection (Case 14, no. 2066). From Cyprus. J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1914), p. 32, no. 2066.

A crude, hand-made figurine in the form of an ape with its legs stretched out on the ground. The left arm is broken, the right follows the body and leg, and the paw rests on the knee. The shoulders have a deformed, hunched appearance, the snout is pointed, and there is a molded addition on the rump so the figure can sit upright. A crude hand-made figurine of the "Snow Man" technique. Light brown clay, black paint on the head and in stripes on the body and extremities.

28. Marseilles. Archeological Museum. From Cyprus. W. Froehner, *Catalogue des antiquités grecques et romaines: Musée de Marseille* (Paris, 1897), p. 198, no. 1029.

A seated ape has its arms crossed on its breast. The arms are poorly modelled. Red clay with traces of red and black lines. Primitive work.

29. Marseilles. Archeological Museum. From Cyprus. Froehner, *op. cit.*, p. 198, no. 1030.

As above. Light clay. Ht. 8.5 cm.

30. Sparta. From the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. Farrell, "Excavations at Sparta, 1908," *B. S. A.*, XIV (1907-08), p. 52.

Among a group of archaic, hand-made figurines is an ithyphallic figure which is probably a monkey.

31. Paris. Louvre. From Phoenicia. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 3, fig. 3.

A large ape is seated on a throne uplifted on a pedestal. Its paws are on its knees, the features of the face are marked. Ht. 15 cm.

32. Athens. From a child's grave in the Dipylon cemetery. Orsi, *Not. Scav.*, 1893, p. 480, note 1. Cf. Brueckner and Pernice, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII (1893), p. 189 (do not specify what animals were found).

Among animals of terracotta in a child's grave was an ape. Archaic Greek.

33. London. British Museum (B 29). From Athens (from the Castellani Collection, 1873). H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1903), p. 75, B 29. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 223, 7, fig. 7.

A phallic monkey stands with its legs spread apart and its tail stretched out as a third support. Its forepaws shade its eyes. Its tail is disproportionately thick. The right foot is restored, the left broken. Ht. 8 cm. Two figurines in the British Museum show ithyphallic satyrs or satyr actors in exactly the same pose. Walters, *op. cit.*, B 23-24.

34. Berlin. Antiquarium (7593). From Tanagra. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 223, 7 b.

A monkey standing in the same pose as the preceding, except that its arms are outstretched. Ht. 10 cm.

35. Berlin. Antiquarium (775, 119). From Camirus. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 225, 7, fig. 7.

An ape is squatting with forepaws on its knees on a convex basis (the head is broken off). The hair on body is shown by carving, and its paws are realistic. Ht. 5.5 cm.

36. Paris. Louvre (709). From Smyrna. Edm. Pottier and S. Reinach, *Les terres cuites de Myrina*, p. 302, no. 709. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 225, 8, fig. 8, and p. 271 (*Nachtrag*).

A crouching ape with both forepaws in its lap looks to the front with a comic leer. The head is egg-shaped and disproportionately large. The hindpaws are broken off. Ht. 5 cm.

37. Athens. The Acropolis Museum. S. Casson and D. Brooke, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II (Oxford, 1921), II, no. 1229.

A fragment of a squatting ape, only the right knee and the left foot remain. It is blackened by fire, and has traces of red paint. Ht. 4 cm.

38. Saloniki. From the East Cemetery of Olynthus (Inv. no. 388). D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, VII (Baltimore, 1933), p. 82, no. 314, pl. 38.

A crouching monkey is clasping its legs. The right leg is bent out to the side. The modelling is very indistinct. The figurine is hollow with a small vent in the bottom. End of fifth century or beginning of fourth. Ht. 8.3 cm; width, 4.7 cm.; thickness, 3 cm.

- 39-40.** Leningrad. Hermitage. Pizzati Collection (nos. 179, 184).  
L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, p. 267, note 2.

Two squatting apes.

- 41.** Trieste. Museo Civico. From Tarentum. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 225, 11, B.

A seated ape. Its legs and arms are broken. Ht. 5 cm.

- 42.** Rome. Palazzo dei Conservatori. Sala Castellani (III, 5). H. Stuart Jones, *The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (Oxford, 1926), p. 194, 5; pl. 76.

A squatting ape, with the right arm and both legs gone. Roughly modelled with traces of red paint. Ht. 7 cm.

- 43.** From Megara Hyblaea (Tomb 456). Orsi, *Not. Scav.*, 1893, p. 480.

A terracotta figurine in the shape of an ape.

- 44.** Paris. Rodin Museum. From Egypt.

A red terracotta statuette is in the form of a seated ape with its head bent towards its knees.

- 45.** Alexandria. Greco-Roman Museum (9660). From the cemetery of Hadra. Ev. Breccia, *Terracotte figurate greche e greco-egizie del Museo di Alessandria*, I (Bergamo, 1930), p. 77, no. 512, pl. LI, 7.

An ape squats on a stool with its forepaws on its knees. It has a hood over its shoulders, which seems to be an exaggeration of the mane of the old, male cynocephalus. Breccia calls it a chimpanzee, which is extremely doubtful. Ht. 6.5 cm.

- 46.** Alexandria. Greco-Roman Museum (19577). Ev. Breccia, *op. cit.*, II (Bergamo, 1934), p. 58, no. 401, pl. CXI, fig. 642.

A squatting cynocephalus with its forepaws on its knees. On its head is the solar disk. The snout is pointed, the ears are incised, the body is very thick. The hair of the body is marked by peculiar, concave, circular indentations. Greco-Egyptian. Ht. 8.5 cm.

- 47.** Alexandria. Greco-Roman Museum (22203). Breccia, *op. cit.*, II, p. 58, no. 402, pl. CXI, fig. 643.

A somewhat similar figurine, except that it shows the ani-

mal only to the waist. Instead of indentations marking the skin, there are molded protuberances. Around the neck is what seems to be a leather thong supporting a *bullæ*. Ht. 8 cm.

48. Alexandria. Greco-Roman Museum (22005). Breccia, *op. cit.*, II, p. 58, no. 402, pl. CXI, fig. 641.

The vertical handle of a terracotta lamp is modelled in the front as a squatting cynocephalus wearing the sun disk. The lamp has three extensions, but only the middle one has a wick-hole, there is no pour-hole. Greco-Egyptian. Ht. 12 cm.

49. Alexandria. Greco-Roman Museum (8084). Breccia, *op. cit.*, II, p. 57, no. 400, pl. LII, fig. 259.

A terracotta lamp is modelled in the form of a squatting ape wearing a sun disk. The features are clearly marked, and might well be those of any ape, but the sun disk marks the animal as a cynocephalus. The body is indistinct. The wick-hole and the pour-hole are in the ape's lap. There is a hole in the disk for suspension. Greco-Egyptian. Ht. 12 cm.

50. From Champ Lary. Edm. Tudot, *Collection de figurines en argile* (Paris, 1860), pl. 63 E. Cf. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, p. 267, note 2.

An ape squats upon a rounded base. The hair on the body is represented by crescent-shaped indentations. Gallo-Roman work. Ht. 11.8 cm.

## 2. *Riding apes* (51-63).

51. Baltimore. Museum of Art (Inv. no. 2882). Cesnola Collection (no. 23), formerly in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. From Ormidia. Louis P. di Cesnola, *A Description Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, II (New York, 1894), pl. LXXI, no. 650. *Catalogue of the Antiquities from Cyprus in the Baltimore Museum*, no. 23.

An ape kneels on the rump of a horse and grasps the horse's ears. It is not a donkey as Cesnola says, but a horse, as can be told by its ears and tail. The eyes and snout of the ape, the eyes, ears and tail of the horse are fairly modelled,

the rest is crudely done. The ape is too large in proportion, and its legs, instead of bending naturally are turned back on the rump of the horse. The feet are not modelled. There is red paint on the mouth, ears and the top of the ape's head, as well as in the ears, neck and front of the horse's legs. There is black paint on the eyes and nose of the ape and on the eyes of the horse, and in addition cross lines of black paint on the horse's neck and head are meant to portray a bridle. Ht. 16.3 cm.; ht. of ape 10.3 cm.

- 52-54. Thebes. Museum. From Rhitsona (grave 145, nos. 96-7; grave 96, no. 8). P. N. Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona in Boeotia* (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 62, 63, 85, 89, pl. XV.

An ape rides on a horse clinging to its neck with four paws. The ape's eyes are indicated by holes. Black stripes on brown. The head of the ape of the second figurine is missing; the head of the horse of the third figurine is missing. Crude work. Early sixth century. Hts. 7 cm., 8.5 cm., 8.5 cm.

55. Thebes. Museum. From Rhitsona (grave 112, no. 77). Ure, *op. cit.*, p. 65, pl. XVII. P. N. Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona* (Oxford, 1927), p. 90.

An ape riding a horse wears a red jacket and a yellow cap. The horse has a red line down each leg on one side. The red on the body and the yellow on the ears of the ape may be mere formal decoration rather than the indication of a jacket and cap. The horse's tail is separated. The figurine is quite spirited. Ht. to horse's head, 8.5 cm.; to ape's head, 9 cm. Late sixth century.

56. Rhodes. From the Sepolcreto di Macri Langoni at Camirus (tomb clxvii, 13405, excavations of 1929-30). Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, IV (Rhodes, 1931), p. 291, clxvii, 11. figs. 323, 329.

An ape riding on a horse, grasps the horse's head with its forepaws, and draws up its legs so as partly to encircle the horse's neck. The arms are long, the legs short, and the snout protuberant, hence it is not a man, as Jacopi says, but an ape. Ht. 10 cm. Professor Robinson who examined all the



items here cited from Rhodes says that it is surely an ape. There are traces of blue paint, the ears are blue, and red lines on the forepaws indicate reins. From the same tomb comes an ape with a shield, Jacopi, *op. cit.*, p. 291 (no. 169, below).

57. Berlin. Antiquarium (7991). From Camirus. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 223, 1, fig. 1. Furtwaengler, *Jb. Arch. I.*, I (1886), p. 155.

A fragmentary figurine of an ape riding upon a bull. It holds the reins in its upraised left forepaw. Summary work. The legs and the right arm of the ape are broken, and three legs and the left ear of the bull. Ht. 13 cm.

58. London. British Museum. From Camirus. (Rhodes, 1864—Tomb F. 45.) H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum* (London, 1903), p. 122. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 223. J. Boehlau, *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 157.

An ape is riding upon a boar; its left forepaw is raised to its head. Ht. 13 cm.

59. Dardanelles. Calvert Collection. From the Troad, near Thymbra. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 223, 1 b.

A female ape is riding upon a horse. It is considerably broken. Ht. 12 cm.

60. Bonn. Akademisches Kunstmuseum. Acquired at Athens. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 223, 3, fig. 3.

An ape, riding on a pig, faces to the left side. Its left forepaw is held in front of its chest, in its right it holds a cake at which it looks. The left foot is broken, the modelling is summary except for the ape's head, which is done in detail. Ht. 11 cm.

61. London. British Museum. From Tanagra (1875). Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 83, B 66. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 223, 4, fig. 4. Boehlau, *loc. cit.*

A phallic ape sits on a mule with its legs extended, the left in front, the right behind; the arms are flung about. The mule stands with legs apart, its tail is gone. White slip. Ht. 10 cm.

62. Corinth. From the Ceramicus. Newhall, "The Corinthian Kerameikos," *A. J. A.*, XXXV (1931), p. 24.

A monkey is riding a horse, whose ears it grasps.

63. Berlin. From Aegina. In the collection of Dr. Otto Rubensohn.

A fragmentary figurine represents a camel, upon which two apes ride. Only the legs of the apes are preserved. Hellenistic-Roman work.

3. *Apes with young or men carrying apes (64-82).*

64. Paris. Louvre. From Greece. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 2, fig. 2. A. Roes, *De Oorsprong der geometrische Kunst* (Haarlem, 1931), p. 122, fig. 129.

An ape with legs stretched out has its forepaws placed on its hindpaws. The ears are large, the snout is pointed, the arms are heavy. A small ape squats on its left shoulder. The smaller animal seems to be wearing a Phrygian cap. The figurine is decorated on body and arms with stripes of dark paint. Primitive work. Ht. 8 cm.

65. Berlin. Antiquarium (8528). From Athens (?). Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 225, 3, fig. 3.

An ape is squatting on a base with a young one on its knees. The snout is pointed, the eyes marked. Ht. 4.8 cm.

66. London. British Museum. From Athens. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 224, 8, fig. 8.

An ape stands and holds a young ape in front. The modelling is summary; the young ape is much too large in proportion. The hindpaws of both apes are broken. Ht. 7 cm.

67. Athens. National Museum (1122). Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 224, 1, fig. 1.

An ape is squatting on a square base, and holding a little ape which sits on its left shoulder and holds the older ape's head with both hands. Ht. 10 cm.

68. Berlin. Antiquarium (6268). Gréau Collection (formerly in the Barré Collection). From Tanagra. L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1876, p. 203; 1877, p. 267, note 5. Furtwaengler, *Arch. Anz.*, VII (1892), col. 108, no. 29. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 223, 5, fig. 5.

A standing phallic monkey holds a small monkey on its left

shoulder. The older monkey's tail is extended to make a third support, hence the tail is disproportionately thick. Ht. 9.5 cm.

69. Vienna. Oesterreichisches Museum. Blum-Blankenegg Collection (7941). From Aegina. K. Masner, *Die Sammlung der Vasen und Terrakotten im k. k. oesterreichisches Museum* (Vienna, 1892), p. 88, no. 808. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 5, fig. 5.

An ape squats clasping its knees. On its left shoulder is a young ape with its left arm encircling the old ape's head. The left foot of the older animal is broken, its snout is long. Ht. 9.5 cm.

70. London. British Museum. Burgon Collection. From Melos, Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 88, B 90. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 213, 6, fig. 6. Boehlau, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

A grotesque figure stands on a base, on its left shoulder sits an ape, which grasps the head of the grotesque figure. Ht. 9 cm.

71. Wuerzburg. Collection of the University. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 213, 6.

As above except that an old ape is substituted for the grotesque figure. Ht. 9 cm.

72. Athens. National Museum. J. Martha, *Catalogue des figurines en terre cuite du Musée de la Société archéologique d'Athènes* (Paris, 1880), p. 206, no. 996.

A squatting female ape is suckling its little one. Its head turned to the right gives it an expression of disquiet. Careless work: grey terracotta, signs of burning. Ht. 10.5 cm.; width 6.5 cm.

73. From the Taman peninsula. *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1872, p. VII; 1876, p. 155 (Stephani); 1877, p. 267 (Stephani).

A female ape is suckling a little ape.

74. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, p. 267, note 4.

As above.

75. Rhodes. From the Acropolis of Lindos. Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I (Berlin, 1931), col. 470, no. 1904, pl. 85.

A squatting ape, holding a little one facing outward to its

breast, is on its knees. The left arm of the large ape is lacking, and the extremities of the little ape. Details are marked on the head, but not otherwise; the ears are prominent. The clay has spots of mica in it, is brown-grey, and is covered with a brown-red slip. Hand-made. Ht. 6.8 cm.

76. Rhodes. From the Sepolcreto di Macri Langoni (tomb cxxxii, 12301, excavations of 1929-30). Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, IV (Rhodes, 1931), p. 262, cxxxii, 3, figs. 287, 289.

A terracotta group represents a seated monkey which holds a little one in its arms on its left side. The right forepaw of the mother is on the little ape's legs, and the left around its body. There are traces of red. The little ape wears a conical cap and puts its arms around its mother's neck. The forepaws and right leg of the mother and the forepaws of the young ape are broken. Dr. Robinson examined the original and says that it is now restored completely. The work is crude but the eyes of the mother are clearly marked. Ht. 9.5 cm.

77. Baltimore. The Collection of D. M. Robinson. From Boeotian Thebes.

An ape stands holding a young ape in both forepaws. The larger animal is bent far forward at the hips toward the right, and looks to the front. The clay is not cut out beneath its forequarters. The modelling of the head is clear; the eyes are marked by incised circles, the snout is protuberant, the mouth is marked by a slit, the ears are slight bulges. The forearms and the young ape are crudely modelled in relief. The rear of the statuette is merely rounded off, the center is hollow. The clay is buff with a white slip and traces of red paint. Ht. 8.5 cm.; greatest width (at base) 7.7 cm.; greatest thickness (at base) 4.6 cm.

78. Saloniki. From the main trench, East Cemetery at Olynthus (Inv. no. 119). D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, VII (Baltimore, 1933), p. 82, no. 313, pl. 38.

An ape is seated in an upright position. It holds a little one between its legs; its left forepaw hangs over its knee, its

right is raised to its chin. Buff clay with traces of white slip and red paint. Red and black bands on the base. It is hollow, the back is not worked, the face is chipped. The work is summary. Late fifth or early fourth century. Ht. 9.7 cm.; width, 3.5 cm.; thickness, 2 cm.

79. Rome. Museo delle Terme (18).

A monkey holds a baby monkey.

80. From Gran Michele (in Catania). P. Orsi, *Mon. Ant.*, VII (1897), col. 249. Cf. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 271, *Nachtrag* to p. 222. *Not. Scav.*, 1930, p. 100, note 3.

A seated ape is holding a young one. Ht. 8 cm.

81. Berlin. From Egypt. In the collection of Dr. Otto Rubensohn.

An ape sitting on the shoulder of a young negro hunts for lice in his hair. Hellenistic-Roman work.

82. Alexandria. Greco-Roman Museum (9662). From the cemetery of Hadra. Ev. Breccia, *Terrecotte figurate greche e greco-egizie del Museo di Alessandria*, I (Bergamo, 1930), p. 77, no. 511, pl. LII, 7.

A cynocephalus is seated on a low base holding a little one before it, which places its forepaws on the old ape's left knee. The eyes of the old animal are holes. Ht. 4.5 cm.

#### 4. *Apes' heads* (83-100).

83. Sparta. Woodward, *B. S. A.*, XXIX (1927-28), p. 72, fig. 2, 7.

The small head of an ape is made with the base of the neck concave. It was probably set on the rim of a vase in imitation of the large vases of this type. Without slip, the eyes, ears, mouth and nostrils are marked to give a very natural appearance.

84. Rhodes. From the Acropolis of Camirus (14375, excavations of 1930). Jacopi, *Clara Rhodes*, VI-VIII (Rhodes, 1932), p. 300, no. 42, fig. 37.

A fragment representing the head of an ape of coarse reddish clay. The eyes are marked by molding, not deeply set; the nostrils are marked by holes; the mouth is opened in a half oval. It is broken at the neck and the forehead; the left

eye is partly broken. It could not have been a complete statuette as apes were not made on those proportions. Ht. 8.5 cm.

85. Rhodes. From Acropolis of Lindos (excavations of 1902-14). Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I (Berlin, 1931), col. 470, no. 1905 (b).

The head of a figurine in the form of an ape. It is hand-made, from red clay.

- 86-87. Istanbul. Museum of Antiquities (4119-4120). From the Acropolis of Lindos (excavations of 1902-14). G. Mendel, *Catalogue des figurines grecques de terre cuite* (Constantinople, 1908), p. 52, nos. 622-623. Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, I, col. 581, no. 2393.

Two ape-heads made in a double mold. One of them is covered by a veil. There are traces of red-brown paint; the clay is brown-grey. Ht. 3 cm. Fifth century work.

88. Delphi Museum. From Delphi. P. Perdrizet, "Monumenta figurés," *Fouilles de Delphes*, V (Paris, 1908), III, p. 203.

A head of an ape from a statuette. The mouth is open, the eyes ought to be marked by color. The nose is marked by two holes, the lower lip is very long. Very natural work. Archaic style.

89. Athens. National Museum (460). From the Ceramicus in Athens. J. Martha, *Catalogue des figurines en terre cuite du Musée de la Société archéologique d'Athènes* (Paris, 1880), p. 23, no. 100.

A fragmentary bust of a monkey of red clay. The arms are gone, workmanship poor. Ht. 4 cm.; width, 2.7 cm.

90. Baltimore. The Collection of D. M. Robinson.

This head of an ape has apparently been broken from a larger statuette. It is crudely modelled and hand-made. The mouth is an open gash—it appears to be shrieking. The nostrils are two indentations, the eyes are two roughly made circles. The ears are slightly marked, and the back of the head is uneven. Ht. 1.9 cm.; width, 2.1 cm.; thickness, 2.5 cm.

91. Madrid. Museo Arqueologico Nacional. Collection Toda (14436). A. Laumonier, *Catalogue de terres cuites du Musée Archéologique de Madrid* (Bordeaux, 1921), no. 598.

A fantastic ape's head of brown terracotta which may be meant as a mask. Ht. 4.2 cm.

- 92-93. Madrid. Museo Arqueologico Nacional (3457, 3483). From Cordova. Laumonier, *op. cit.*, nos. 981, 1013.

As the preceding example. Black clay. Hts. 5.5 cm., 2.3 cm.

94. Munich. Loeb Collection. From Asia Minor. J. Sieveking, *Die Terrakotten der Sammlung Loeb* (Munich, 1916), II, p. 25, pl. 88, 2.

An extraordinarily lifelike head of an ape with hair, eyelids, eye-pupils, nostrils and mouth all molded realistically. Hellenistic work. Red clay. Ht. 4.3 cm.

95. Alexandria. Greco-Roman Museum (23270). Ev. Breccia, *Terrecotte figurate greche e greco-egizie del Museo di Alessandria*, II (Bergamo, 1934), p. 59, no. 427, pl. XCV, figs. 525 and 527.

An ape's head. The back of the head is roughly modelled, but the face is done with a great deal of spirit and expression. The snout is blunt and the ears are large. Greco-Egyptian. Ht. 3.5 cm.

96. Alexandria. Greco-Roman Museum (22213). Breccia, *op. cit.*, p. 56, on no. 380, p. 59 on no. 427; pl. XCV, fig. 526.

A crudely made head which is probably that of an ape. The back and top of the head are fairly human, but the snout is decidedly that of an ape. Ht. 4 cm.

97. From Champ Lary (discovered by M. Bertrand). Edm. Tudot, *Collection de figurines en argile* (Paris, 1860), pl. 64 A.

An ape's head broken from a statuette. The snout is rounded; the mouth is open; the nostrils, eyes and ears are marked; hair is indicated on the lower jaw and the back of the head; and there is a peculiar band of flesh around the head from neck to forehead. Gallo-Roman work. Ht. 4.4 cm.

98. From Champ Lary (discovered by M. Bertrand). Tudot, *op. cit.*, pl. 64 C. J. Fleury (pseudonym-Champfleury), *Histoire de la caricature antique* (2nd ed., Paris, 1865), p. 206 (figure).

An ape's head broken from a statuette. Both forepaws are placed on the nose. The forehead is very low, the mouth is large with compressed lips, the pupils of the eyes are marked. This might be considered as a caricatured man, were it not that similar examples of complete statuettes portray indubitable apes. Gallo-Roman work. Ht. 4.4 cm.

99. From Champ Lary (discovered by M. Bertrand). Tudot, *op. cit.*, pl. 64 F. Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 208 (figure).

As above. The animal's right forepaw is to its cheek, its left covers its left eye and the bridge of its nose. Gallo-Roman work. Ht. 4.4 cm.

100. From Mainz. F. Behn, "Roemische Keramik mit Einschluss der hellenistischen Vorstufen," *Kataloge des roemisch-germanischen Central-Museums* (no. 2, Mainz, 1910), p. 170, no. 1153, fig. 18. F. Oswald and T. D. Pryce, *An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata* (London, 1920), pl. LXXXV, 6.

A clay appendage to a vessel is in the form of an ape's head. The elaborate decoration takes the form of applied relief. The snout is rounded, the mouth is marked by a slit and the nostrils by indentations, the forehead is low, and the hair of the head and cheeks is marked by flaring bands in such a way as to give the grotesque head the appearance of being covered by a leather helmet, studded with pieces of metal.

##### 5. Apes with musical instruments (101-107).

101. London. British Museum (C 750). From Cyrenaica. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum* (London, 1903), pp. 273-274, C 750. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 225, 9.

An ape is seated to the right with its legs drawn up and its face to the front. It is on a high plinth which is covered with drapery. There is a thick wreath on the ape's head. The lyre is triangular (*magadis*) with a yellow frame. White slip, red on the plinth. The face of ape obliterated. The back is not worked, the base is hollow. Ht. 12 cm.



102. Paris. Louvre (337). From Cyrenaica. L. Heuzey, *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1883), pl. 55, 1. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 225, 9, fig. 9.

From the same mold as the preceding example; of red terracotta. The eyes, nose, mouth and ears are marked. The snout is short. Ht. 12 cm.

103. From Athens. Otto Magnus, Baron von Stackelberg, *Die Graeber der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1837), p. 46, pl. LXX, 5. O. Jahn, *Archaeologische Beitræge* (Berlin, 1847), p. 435. Winter, *Typen*, II, p. 411, 1, fig. 1. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 3, note 37.

A man, dressed in a long cloak, holds a four-cornered lyre in his left hand and plays it with his right. In his right hand is the *plectrum*. The jaw is typically ape-like, the neck is thick, the nose is flat and the forehead low—but the hair and ears mark it as a caricatured man (a negro), not an ape, or an ape-headed man as stated in the references given above. Ht. 12 cm.

104. London. British Museum (B 296). From Camirus (1860). Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 122, B 296. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 9, fig. 9. J. Boehlau, *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 157. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 3, note 37.

A squatting ape holds a large lyre (*chelys*) in its left forepaw. Its legs and right arm broken. Covered with white slip. Ht. 6 cm.

105. Dardanelles. Calvert Collection. From Thymbra in the Troad. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 9.

Similar to the preceding example. Ht. 6.5 cm.

106. Collection of University of Rostock (576). From Egypt. Pagenstecher, *Arch. Anz.*, XXXIV (1918), col. 125, fig. 13.

A monkey is playing a flute, held horizontally. It has a tail, but because the hair of the body is not marked (a common omission in such figurines) Pagenstecher thinks it is a man with an ape's head. The legs are not modelled. Brown clay with white paint. Ht. 5 cm.

107. From Agrigento (near the round altar). Bovio, *Not. Scav.*, 1930, pp. 99-100, fig. 36.

A fragment, broken in the middle of the body, of an ape

playing a double flute. The work is crudely done. Hellenistic or Sicilian-Greek work. Ht. 5.7 cm.

6. *Apes with paws to their heads (108-124).*

108. Rome. The Vatican Museum. From the Regulini-Galassi Tomb at Caere (Cervetri). O. Montelius, *Civilisation primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des métaux*, II, 2 (Stockholm, 1904), pl. 337, 1. O. Montelius, *Die vorklassische Chronologie Italiens* (Stockholm, 1912), pl. 51, 7.

A squatting monkey with its legs drawn up and its elbows on its knees. The top of its head is marked with parallel stripes. Its forepaws cover its snout, its ears are prominent. Ht. 5 cm. Etruscan, ca. 670 B. C., cf. Randall-MacIver, *The Etruscans* (Oxford, 1927), p. 38.

109. Berlin. Antiquarium. From Boeotia. Hans Licht, *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* (Suppl. vol., Zuerich, 1928), p. 101 (illustration).

A squatting ithyphallic figurine of an ape is broken at the bottom. Its right forepaw is to its eyes, its left is on its phallus. The phallus is enormous, considerably larger than its arms or legs. Its snout is pointed, and its ears are large and concave.

110. Catania. Museo Biscari. From Camarina. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 225, 11, fig. 11. L. Otto, *Die Terrakotten von Sikilien* (Berlin and Stuttgart, 1884), p. 25, 2.

An ape is seated on a chair on a base. Its right forepaw is on its knee, its left is to its cheek; it has an air of comic gravity. The figure may be a man with an ape's head, as Otto says. Ht. 10 cm.

111. Dardanelles. Calvert Collection. From Neandria. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 10, fig. 10.

An ape squats on the ground, its left forepaw to its belly, its right to its forehead. Ht. 10 cm.

112. Athens. National Museum. From Argos. Charles Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, II (Boston and New York, 1905), p. 42, no. 264, pl. XLVIII, 21. Winter, *Typen*, I, pp. 222, 10 c.

As above except that the arms are broken. The animal may have been carrying a shield and spear. Light yellow clay. Ht. 9.5 cm.

113. Athens. Acropolis Museum. From Athens. S. Casson and D. Brooke, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II (Cambridge, 1921), 2, no. 1231. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 10 d.

As above; the head and left arm are broken. Ht. 5.2 cm.

114. Paris, Louvre. Campana Collection. From Italy. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 10 g.

As above. Ht. 8 cm.

115. Berlin. Antiquarium (3387). From Leontini. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 10 i.

As above; the arms are broken. Ht. 11 cm.

116. From Megara Hyblaea (no. 436). Petersen, *Roem. Mitt.*, XV (1900), p. 86, no. 19. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 271, *Nachtrag* to p. 222.

As above.

117. Athens. National Museum (1330). From Tanagra. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 224, 4, fig. 4.

A squatting ape has its right forepaw to its throat. Its left arm is broken. The body of the ape is abnormally long; the ears are large and resemble a cat's ears. Ht. 8 cm.

118. Rome. Museo delle Terme (17).

A squatting ape with its right forepaw to its snout.

119. Munich. Loeb Collection. From Bolsena. J. Sieveking, *Die Terrakotten der Sammlung Loeb* (Munich, 1916), II, p. 26 (illustration).

A monkey crouches with its left forepaw to its chin in a reflective, comico-serious way, its right forepaw to its hind-paws. Its tail curls up to its left side; its hair is marked by lines; details of its face are incised; its mouth is open, its tongue and teeth show. Brown clay with red and blue paint on the face; a piece stretched out behind forms the mouth piece of a toy flute. Ht. 6.2 cm.

120. From Champ Lary. Edm. Tudot, *Collection de figurines en argile* (Paris, 1860), pl. 63 A.

An ape squats on a rounded pedestal. Its left forepaw is to the side of its head, its right clasps its left elbow. The hair on the body is represented by indentations. The head

has a high rounded crown, the snout is conical and is marked by lines converging on the mouth, between which are other shorter lines. The ears are large, the shoulders and neck are disproportionately thick. Gallo-Roman work. Ht. 11 cm.

121. From Champ Lary (discovered by M. Bertrand). Tudot, *op. cit.*, pl. 64 B.

An ape squats on a rounded, broken pedestal. With its elbows on its knees, its forearms cross in such a way that the right forepaw touches its left cheek, and its left forepaw, its right cheek. The forehead is low, but the rest of the features are somewhat human. The short legs, the long arms, the modelling of the paws and the squatting position all mark it as an ape. Gallo-Roman work. Ht. 11.6 cm.

122. From Champ Lary (discovered by M. Bertrand). Tudot, *op. cit.*, pl. 64 E.

As above, except that there is a ring marked around the face of the animal (doubtless a crude way of showing the hair). Also the left forepaw clasps the right elbow. Gallo-Roman work. Ht. 11 cm.

123. From Allier. Tudot, *op. cit.*, p. 53, fig. LXXIV

A figurine somewhat similar to the preceding. The ape squats on a base in the shape of a truncated cone. The animal's elbows are not on its knees: the right forepaw touches its forehead above the left eye, and the left forepaw supports its chin. The mouth is modelled into a broad, curved smile. There is a rim of parallel indentations above the forehead indicating hair. Gallo-Roman work.

124. From Champ Lary (discovered by M. Bertrand). Tudot, *op. cit.*, pl. 64 D.

As above, except that the figurine is broken off at the waist and the position of the forepaws is reversed. Gallo-Roman work. Ht. 5.5 cm.

## 7. *Apes using a mortar or making bread (125-131).*

125. London. British Museum. From Tanagra. *Arch. Anz.*, XIX 1904), col. 215, no. 3.

An ape wearing a radiated crown is seated before a bowl, in which is a pestle.

126. London. British Museum. From Tanagra. *Ibid.*, col. 215, no. 4.

An ape is seated before a shallow bowl; with its right forepaw it holds a cake to its mouth, with its left a pestle, which rests in the bowl.

127. Paris. Louvre. From Cyrenaica. L. Heuzey, *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1883), pl. 55, 5. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 224, 11.

An ape holds a bread pan between its legs. Its legs merge into the pan; its arms are broken at the elbows. A hand-modelled figurine of yellow clay. The head is colored with rose, the eyes are indicated by black points and white circles. There is a break in the pan opposite the ape. Ht. 7 cm.

- 128-129. Leningrad. The Hermitage (909 F, G). From Eltgehen. L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, p. 266, pl. VI, 9-10. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 224, 11, fig. 11.

Two terracottas show apes making bread in a large flat dish. In each terracotta the ape clasps the dish with its hindpaws, which merge into the dish. The dishes have broken handles at each side, and overflow spouts at the front. The apes' forepaws are above their heads; the heads are twisted to the right. The forepaws originally held some object. The faces are covered with well-preserved red paint. Ht. 8 cm.

130. Formerly in the van Branteghem Collection. From Athens. W. Froehner, *Collection van Branteghem, Catalogue des monuments antiques, vases peints, terres cuites* (Brussels, 1892), no. 316. Cf. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 224, 11.

As above. The body of the figure is less simian. In the catalogue the figure is called a man with an ape's head, and the suggestion is made that this is a receptacle for mixing colors. There is an instrument in the pan with a curved point, the purpose of which is doubtful. Light clay. Ht. 7 cm.

131. London. British Museum (B 480). Millingen Collection (1847). H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum* (London, 1903), p. 151, B 480.

An ape stands before a circular trough on a pedestal, and kneads dough. Its legs merge into the base. Ht. 10.7 cm.

### 8. Apes eating or drinking (132-144).

132. Plate II, 2. New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Cesnola Collection (Case 14, no. 2067). From Cyprus. J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (New York, 1914), p. 342, no. 2067.

A squatting ape with its elbows on its knees holds a large piece of fruit to its mouth. The head is large and the shoulders too heavy and wide. The hindpaws are clasped together. There is a wide, flat extension to the rump to enable the figurine to stand. Traces of red paint. A crude hand-made figurine in the "Snow Man" technique.

133. Plate II, 3. New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Cesnola Collection (Case 14, no. 2068). From Cyprus. Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 342, no. 2068.

An ape sits with legs spread out and arms straight out holding a pear in both forepaws. The figurine is decorated with red and black paint on a white background. Crude, hand-made in the "Snow Man" technique.

134. New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Cesnola Collection (Case 14, no. 2069). From Cyprus. Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 342, no. 2069.

An ape sits on an uneven pedestal holding a bowl of fruit in its lap with its left forepaw, and lifting a piece of fruit to its mouth with its right forepaw. The head is rounded and the snout is pointed. The technique is like the preceding example. Traces of white paint. Myres says that it may be a satyr, but it is surely an ape.

135. Athens. National Museum (28). From Tegea. J. Martha, *Catalogue des figurines en terre cuite du Musée de la Société archéologique d'Athènes* (Paris, 1880), p. 123, no. 622.

A squatting ape holds a bird on its knees with its left forepaw and with its right carries a piece of food to its mouth. Gray terracotta; common work, sixth century. Ht. 6.5 cm., width, 4 cm.

136. Bonn. Akademisches Kunstmuseum. From Corinth. Winter *Typen*, I, p. 224, 10, fig. 10.

An ape with its legs curled up squats on a dish with two

handles and a spout. Its right forepaw shades its eyes, and its left, resting on its left knee, holds an apple. Ht. 6.5 cm.

137. Athens. National Museum (2152). Purchased at Thebes. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 224.

A squatting ape holds a four-cornered object (bread?) in its forepaw. Ht. 7 cm.

138. Smyrna. Private Collection (1892). From Clazomenae. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 224, 6, fig. 6.

An ape sits on a small rock. It holds a cup to its lips with its right forepaw, its left is broken. In front of it is a large circular rock on which there are three more cups. The two rocks are on opposite corners of a square base. Ht. 5.8 cm.

139. From Salamis (Cyprus). Tubbs, *J.H.S.*, XII (1891-2), p. 160. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 225, 4, A.

A squatting ape holds a piece of fruit to its mouth and rubs its forepaw on its belly.

140. Berlin. Antiquarium (6251, 157). From Larnaka (Cyprus). *Arch. Zeit.*, XXVIII (1871), p. 123, B, no. 30. Winter, *Typen*, p. 225, 4, fig. 4.

A squatting ape has both elbows on its knees and is taking a huge bite from an apple. The bottom of the figurine is broken. Ht. 7 cm.

141. Barré Collection (in 1878). L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, p. 267, note 2. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 225, 4, B.

A squatting ape is eating a piece of fruit. Ht. 7.4 cm.

142. London. British Museum (B 67). From Tanagra (1875). Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 83, B 67. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 224, 2, fig. 2. J. Boehlau, *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 157. A. Klein, *Child Life in Greek Art* (New York, 1932), p. 10, note 95.

An ape seated on a circular base holds an egg-shaped object on its left shoulder. The object might be a cocoanut, but it is not a two-handled jug as Klein says. A white slip covers the figurine; the ape is pink with a red band around its waist, a black band over the right shoulder and a white patch on his head. The object is black with a stripe around it. Ht. 9 cm.

143. Athens. National Museum (414). Martha, *op. cit.*, p. 206, no. 995.

A seated ape clasps some unidentifiable object to its breast. There are traces of rose on the body of the animal. Yellow clay. Ht. 6.2 cm., width 4.5 cm.

144. Formerly in the Durand Collection. Baron Jean de Witte, *Vente du cabinet de feu M. le Chevalier E. Durand* (Paris, 1836), p. 383, no. 1723. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 271, *Nachtrag* to p. 224.

A seated ape holds a large piece of fruit on its left shoulder. Ht. 8.3 cm.

9. *Apes wearing some type of garment* (145-163).

145. Athens. National Museum. From the Cabirium (Thebes). Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 225, 1, fig. 1.

On a square base with rounded corners an ape sits on a chair. It is draped in a long cloak which covers it from its hindpaws to its chin, completely enveloping its right arm and the upper part of its left arm. Its right forepaw is to its chin; the top of the head is broken. Ht. 10 cm.

146. Athens. National Museum. From Tanagra (?). Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 225, 2, fig. 2.

An ape seated on a pedestal wears a turban, and is draped to the waist. Its left leg is drawn up, its right is on the ground. Its forepaws are on its knees. Ht. 8.4 cm.

147. Berlin Antiquarium (6420). From Asia Minor (Smyrna?). Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 225, 5, fig. 5.

A squatting ape is wrapped in a cloak which covers it to the neck. The folds of the cloak and the ape's features are clearly marked. The ape's ears are large. The lower left part of the figurine is broken. Ht. 6 cm.

148. Berlin. Antiquarium (794). From Tarentum. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 225, 6, fig. 6.

A squatting ape is draped with a garment which covers its right arm completely and it wears a fez-like cap. Its eyes are almond-shaped giving it a curiously eastern appearance. Its left arm and its hindpaw are broken. Ht. 6 cm.



149. Dresden. Albertinum (Z. V. 787). From Fayûm. Treu, *Arch. Anz.* V (1890), col. 96, no. 14.

An ape in a seated posture wears a chiton, a mantle and a hood. The mantle and the lips are red; the forehead and nose are marked with black; the eyes are brown and the rest is white. Ht. 7 cm.

150. Athens. National Museum (867). From Tanagra. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 224, 9, fig. 9.

An ape with outstretched legs is seated on an oval base. Its forepaws are flung up and it has a Phrygian cap on its head. Ht. 8 cm.

151. Berlin. Antiquarium (7804). From Greece. *Arch. Zeit.* XLII (1886), p. 66. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 322, note 31. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 223, 6, fig. 6.

An ape is seated with its legs stretched out. Its head is flung back. Its lips are flat and protruding. There is a cloak around its shoulders. Ht. 7.5 cm.

152. Alexandria. Greco-Roman Museum (9663). From the Cemetery of Hadra. Ev. Breccia, *Terrecotte figurate greche e greco-egizie del Museo di Alessandria*, I (Bergamo, 1930), p. 77, no. 513, pl. LI, 4.

The bust of an ape represents the animal clothed in a tunic with a band encircling it below the armpits.

- 153-154. Alexandria. Greco-Roman Museum (9657, 10760). From the grounds of the native hospital. Breccia, *op. cit.*, I, p. 77, no. 514, pl. LI, 3.

Two figurines picture the upper parts of apes. Each has a conical cap on its head and its hands united on its belly. The chest of the first is marked by parallel indentations, the second is draped. Hts. 6 cm., 4 cm.

155. Alexandria. Greco-Roman Museum (10774). From Kom-el-Sciugafa. Breccia, *op. cit.*, I, p. 77, no. 515.

An ape with its left forepaw to its left eye seems to be weeping. It is dressed in a red garment. There is a hole for suspension. It may have been a handle for a lamp. Ht. 4.5 cm.

156. Cologne. Collection of C. A. Niessen. From Cologne. S. Loeschke, *Beschreibung roemischer Altertuemer, gesammelt von C. A. Niessen* (Cologne, 1911), I, p. 155, no. 3210; II, pl. CVIII.

An ape squats upon a base with knees drawn up, its left forepaw rests on its knee, its right is held to its breast. It is wearing a mantle with a hood. White clay. Gallo-Roman work. Ht. 11.5 cm.

157. Cologne. Wallraf-Richartz Museum (no. 23, 81). Fritz Fremersdorf, *Die Denkmäler des roemischen Koeln*, I (Berlin, 1928), pl. 55, b.

A squatting ape wears a Gallic mantle, which falls to its wrists and the lower part of its back. Its forepaws are on its knees. It is summary Gallo-Roman work, second century, A. D. Ht. 9.4 cm.

158. From Champ Lary. Edm. Tudot, *Collection de figurines en argile* (Paris, 1860), the title page (figure), pl. 63 B. Cf. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, p. 267, note 2.

An ape squats on a rounded pedestal. Its left forepaw is to the side of its head, its right clasps its left elbow. The hair on the body is represented by indentations. The head has a high rounded crown, the snout is conical and is marked by lines converging on the mouth, between which are other shorter lines. The digits of the left forepaw are very crudely marked. The ears are large, the shoulders and neck are disproportionately thick. The animal is wearing a short jacket with an attached hood. The jacket has sleeves and covers only half of its back, the hood is folded back on the back of the animal. Gallo-Roman work. Ht. 12.2 cm.

159. From Auvergne. Tudot, *op. cit.*, p. 53, fig. LXXII, pl. 63 D. Stephani, *loc. cit.*

An ape squats on a rounded pedestal with its forepaws on its knees. The hair is marked like that of the preceding example. The forehead is low and lined, the mouth and ears are large, the nose is large and flat, the head has a curious appearance of baldness—it is sub-human in appearance. Around its shoulders, covering the upper half of its back and its arms to the wrist is a hooded cape (*bardocucullus*?)

fastened at the front. The hood hangs down behind. Gallo-Roman work. Ht. 11.1 cm.

160. From Auvergne. Tudot, *op. cit.*, pl. 63 C. Stephani, *loc. cit.*

As above. Ht. 11.5 cm.

161. From Lyonnais. Tudot, *op. cit.*, pl. 64 H-I.

A dog-headed baboon squats on a rounded base with its forepaws on its knees. The length of the snout is exaggerated, the ears are enormous, the neck, shoulders and torso of the animal are extremely thick and heavy, and a heavy tail curls around to the left. It wears a cape like the one in the preceding examples. In this case because of the squat, thick body of the animal, the cape is shorter, but must be wider to go around the huge shoulders. Gallo-Roman work. Ht. 7.9 cm.

162. From Bourgogne. Tudot, *op. cit.*, pl. 64 G.

An ape squats on a base in the form of a truncated pyramid. Its forepaws are on its knees. Its snout is protuberant. Around its shoulders, covering its arms to the elbows is a hooded cape made as a slipover (i. e. solid in the front). The hood is drawn up over the head, and comes to a high point. The cape is decorated by ovals, stripes, etc. The material seems to be heavy woolen cloth so that the decoration may represent pieces sewed on, or may be a woven-in design. Gallo-Roman work. Ht. 10.9 cm.

163. Dijon. Museum. From Bourgogne. Tudot, *op. cit.*, pl. 64 J. J. Fleury (pseudonym-Champfleury), *Histoire de la caricature antique* (2nd ed., Paris, 1865), opp. p. 212 (figure).

As above. Ht. 11.3 cm.

#### 10. Apes holding miscellaneous objects (164-173).

164. Berlin. Antiquarium (6885). From Boeotia. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 224, 7, fig. 7. Hans Licht, *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* (supplementary volume, Zuerich, 1928), p. 100 (figure).

An ape sits on a square block upon a round base. Its left forepaw is on its left leg; its right forepaw is held straight out, in it is some square object, perhaps a writing tablet. Its

ears are large and concave, and it has a large phallus crudely modelled. Winter says it is from Athens (?). Ht. 8 cm.

165. From Livanatais in Locris. Girard, *B. C. H.*, III (1879), pp. 219-220, no. 44; Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 224, 7.

As above with arms and legs broken. Ht. 8 cm.

166. Berlin. In the collection of Dr. Otto Rubensohn.

A seated ape is reading a roll (*volumen*). On the roll is the inscription ἐφαλλοπίναξ, "one who jumps on a plate." The name is formed as is λαιχοπίναξ, "one who licks a plate," the name of a mouse in the *Batrachomyomachia* (100, 233), and the name of a parasite in Alciphron (*Epist.*, III, 44). The figure can be compared to the terracotta lamp of the first century B. C. from Termessus in the Berlin Museum, inv. 8825, described by Hans Lietzmann in an appendix to Paul Wendland, *Handbuch zum neuen Testament*, I, 2-3, "Die hellenistisch-roemische Kultur und die urchristlichen Literaturformen," 2nd and 3rd edition (Tuebingen, 1912), p. 421, pl. III, 7. An old man, bald-headed and bearded is reading a roll on which appears the name of Euripides. Lietzmann considers the old man a parody of Euripides. Dr. Zahn, to whose generosity I owe my information about the ape, thinks that the lamp may be a parody of Euripides and that in the case of the terracotta under discussion, Ephallopinox may be a name humorously applied to the ape. This is quite possible, but I am inclined to favor the alternative view suggested by Dr. Zahn, i. e. that the name refers to the contents of the roll. A terracotta lamp at Naples in which a caricatured old man is reading a roll on which are written the first six letters of the Greek alphabet (Th. Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 161, fig. 94) supports the view that the inscription refers to the contents of the roll. If this view is correct, the ape is studying a treatise on the parasite's profession, as is natural when one considers that the ape often is the personification of the low-born sycophant. The Roman period.

167. Munich. Loeb Collection. From Greece. J. Sieveking, *Die Terrakotten der Sammlung Loeb* (Munich, 1916), I, p. 5; pl. 7, 2.

An ape seated on a circular base encircles with its arms a large owl which it holds on its knees. The ape's eyes are incised, the modelling is summary. Primitive Boeotian work of red clay, red paint on the ape, yellow on the owl. Ht. 8.3 cm.

168. Athens. National Museum (28 M. 622). Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 224, 5, fig. 5.

A squatting ape holds a bird in its left forepaw, its right covers its snout. Both knees are flat on the ground, and its head is twisted to the left, its upper body to the right. Ht. 6.5 cm.

169. Rhodes. From Camirus (sepulchreto di Macri Langoni, tomb clxvii, 13408, Excavations of 1929-30). Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, IV (Rhodes, 1931), p. 291, clxvii, 13, figs. 323, 330.

A terracotta statuette of an ape holding a round shield. Jacopi says that the animal should be sitting on some object, since the lower part is flat. But this is not necessary for the figurine is a very ordinary type. The ape leans back and to the right, a very natural motion, since the shield is held on its right arm up to its chin. Its left arm is stretched out to the side. The work is summarily done. No details are marked except the depressions for the eyes and the modelled ears. Ht. 7 cm.

170. Athens. National Museum. Misthos Collection (213). From Asia Minor. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 224, 3, fig. 3.

A squatting ape on a round base raises its right forepaw in the air and holds a round shield on its left arm to protect its upturned face. Its phallus and eyes are modelled, the rest of the modelling is summary. It may originally have had a sword in its upraised right forepaw. Ht. 7.8 cm.

171. Syracuse. Museo Archeologico (Room XII). From Megara Hyblaea (Tomb 1, 56, excavations of 1891-92). Cf. C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, II (Boston and New York, 1905), p. 42. D. M. Robinson, *C. V. A., The Robinson Collection, Baltimore, Md.* (fasc. 1 = U. S. A. fasc. 4, Cambridge, Mass., 1934), p. 32 (text to pl. XV, 2).

A large monkey of reddish terracotta has its right arm bent at the elbow and raised straight up. On its outstretched left arm is a large semi-circular object (probably a shield) which it holds in front of its upturned face. Ht. ca. 20 cm.

172. Berlin. Antiquarium (7593). From Megara (?). Furtwaengler, *Arch. Anz.*, VI (1891), col. 120, no. 7. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 223, 8, fig. 8. I. Schneider-Langyel, *Griechische Terrakotten* (Munich, 1936), fig. 99.

A half-squatting monkey holds a fox upon its lap. Its outstretched legs, its tail and the fox's tail form a quadruple support for the figurine. The head is twisted to the right, the mouth is wide open, the phallus is marked. A lifelike Hellenistic caricature. Ht. 8 cm.

173. Madrid. Museo Arqueologico Nacional. Collection Toda (14080). A. Laumonier, *Catalogue de terres cuites du Musée archéologique de Madrid* (Bordeaux, 1921), p. 120, no. 583, pl. LIV, 2.

An ape is seated on a heap composed of three pillows. There are traces of red paint, and the modelling is crude. Black clay. It holds in its lap with both paws a rhyton which ends in a phallus. Ht. 16.5 cm.

#### 11. *Molds for apes (174-177).*

174. Agrigento. Bovio, *Not. Scav.*, 1930, p. 100, fig. 37 (the cast from the mold).

A mold from which a figure was cast. This figure is a seated ape holding a little ape to its breast. The head is ape-like, the body fairly human. The details are not clear, especially those of the little ape. Sixth century B. C. The dimension of the figure cast from the mold; 10.2 cm. by 6.1 cm.

175. Saloniki. From trench VII at Olynthus (Inv. no. 526). D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, IV (Baltimore, 1931), p. 99, note 65; pl. 59, 420 (mold), 420, A (the cast from the mold).

A mold for an ape's head of red buff clay. The ape's head has the typical low forehead, rounded eyes, long nose and protruding lips with a semi-circular mouth curving up at the

corners. First half of fourth century. Cast: 4.5 by 3.5 cm. Head from cast, 3 by 2.5 cm.

176. Corinth. From the Ceramicus. Newhall, "The Corinthian Kerameikos," *A. J. A.*, XXV (1931), p. 23.

A mold for the head of a monkey. It was found among other molds in a building which dates 425-375 B. C.

177. Cairo. Museum (32179). Probably from Memphis. C. C. Edgar, *Greek Moulds, Catalogue général du Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1903), p. 44, no. 32179\*, pl. X.

A mold for the back of a cynocephalus wearing a disk on its head. This may be a mold for a vertical lamp handle. The fabric is a Greco-Egyptian one of Alexandrian times, cf. Edgar, *op. cit.*, pp. II, XI-XIII.

#### B. BRONZE

The objects in this group may be roughly classed in four subdivisions.

1. *Plain figurines* (178-211). These come from all periods.
2. *Attachments to vases* (212-235). These are in the main Etruscan.
3. *Fibulae* (236-245). These are Etruscan.
4. *Miscellaneous groups* (246-261). Some of these are not strictly figurines. These are Etruscan and early Italic, consisting in the main of pieces of bronze which were probably used as bits, collars, etc.

#### 1. *Plain figurines* (178-211).

178. Berlin. The Old Museum (from Gerhard's legacy, Inv. 181). Carl Friederichs, *Berlins antike Bildwerke* (2 vols., Duesseldorf, 1868-71), II, p. 495, no. 2323. Cf. L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, p. 267, note 7.

An Etruscan bronze statuette showing an ape squatting with its forepaws on its knees. It may have been the handle of a lid for a vase. Ht. 2.9 cm.

179. Berlin. The Old Museum. Friederichs, *op. cit.*, II, p. 495, no. 2324. Cf. L. Stephani, *loc. cit.*

As above. The animal is curiously twisted in this representation. Ht. 3.5 cm.

180. Praeneste (Palestrina). From a tomb (1876). Helbig, *Annali*, 1876, p. 251. Helbig, *Bull. d'Inst.*, 1876, p. 130. *Mon. Ined.*, X (1874-8), 31, a, 8. Evans, *J. H. S.*, XIII (1892-3), p. 204, note 30.

An ape-like figure with its right forepaw to its belly and left to its thigh. It was originally attached to some object by the right elbow. The feet are broken. Ht. 7 cm.

181. From Novilara (tomb 14). Brizio, "La necropoli di Novilara," *Mon. Ant.*, V (1895), col. 251. Ghirardini, *B. Pal. It.*, XXIII (1897), pp. 133-134.

A nail cleaner in the form of a spear topped by a crouching ape. Very formalized.

182. From Novilara (tomb 4). Brizio, *loc. cit.*, cols. 257, no. 9; 275-276; pl. X, fig. 21. Ghirardini, *loc. cit.* O. Montelius, *Civilisation primitive en Italie*, II, 1 (Stockholm, 1904), pl. 148, 21. D. Randall-MacIver, *The Iron Age in Italy* (Oxford, 1927), p. 122, pl. 25, 7.

An ear-pick of bronze ending in a very formalized crouching ape with its forepaws to its snout. Ht. 9.2 cm. From a woman's tomb.

183. Chiusi. Museum. D. Valeriani and Fr. Inghirami, *Etrusco Museo Chiusino*, I (Fiesole, 1833), pl. LIX, 2. Reinach, *R. S.*, II, p. 767, 4.

An ithyphallic cynocephalus is seated on a square base with its legs spread apart and its forepaws on its knees.

184. London. British Museum. From Camirus (1864), H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes: Greek, Roman and Etruscan, in the British Museum* (London, 1899), p. 11, no. 144.

A squatting ape is playing the double flute. Its ears are abnormally large, and there is a projection on the left side of its head. Geometric period (seventh century). Ht. 2.9 cm.

185. Berlin. The collection of Dr. Otto Rubensohn.

A figurine which may have been a vase-cover portrays an ape holding an apple. Early archaic bronze.

186. Berlin. Antiquarium (Inv. 7479). From the Peloponnesus. Treu, *Arch. Zeit.*, XXXIX (1881), p. 251. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 3.

An ape seated with its forepaws on its knees is looking to



the right. There is a ring around its neck, its hair is finely engraved. Mature archaic period. Ht. 4.5 cm.

187. Berlin. Antiquarium (Inv. 6418). From the Komnos Collection, Athens.

As above. Ht. 3.5 cm.

188. Paris. Louvre. From Cnidus. *Arch. Anz.*, XXIII (1908), col. 416, no. 18.

A monkey stands in the attitude of a porter; its head is inclined, its forepaws are on its haunches; its tail is wrapped around its right knee.

189. Cagliari. University Museum (Cabinet royal). From Sardinia. Ferrero della Marmora, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, II (Paris and Turin, 1840), pp. 325-326, pl. XXIX, fig. 138.

A figure with the forepaws and head of an ape stands on a square base. It is nude except for an apron around its waist; its forepaws, bent from the elbow, are stretched forward, in the left it holds a piece of bread or a cake. Its phallus is modelled, and its nipples and navel are marked by raised circles. Ferrero della Marmora thinks that the ape-headed figure plays the same role as the dog-headed ape, and that this statue represents a priest of Thoth. This is surely incorrect, since this is probably of Carthaginian or Phoenician workmanship.

- 190-191. Cagliari. University Museum (Cabinet royal). From Sardinia. Ferrero della Marmora, *op. cit.*, II, p. 326, pl. XXIX, figs. 139-140.

Two similar bronzes—the first has the forepaws broken, the second, the forepaws, left arm, hindpaws and base. The apron covers the phallus in each case.

192. Lyon. Museum. From Sardinia (?). Ferrero della Marmora, *op. cit.*, II, p. 326, pl. XXIX, fig. 141.

A nude, standing, ape-headed man has his hands raised in front of his head. His phallus is plainly marked. The bodily contours are partly simian.

193. Cagliari. Royal Museum. From Nulvi. Ferrero della Marmora, *op. cit.*, II, p. 327, pl. XXIX, fig. 142.

A man with the hind-legs and head of an ape is mounted on a bull. He wears a loin cloth and the bull has a collar.

194. Cagliari. University Museum (Cabinet royal). From Sardinia. Ferrero della Marmora, *op. cit.*, II, p. 334, pl. XXX, fig. 167.

An oval piece of bronze with a rim and a handle has a tailless ape crouching in the center on all fours. Its phallus is molded, and there is a ring in its back. The handle ends in a mutilated cow's head. Ferrero della Marmora calls it a light boat with a prow, but it looks more like a frying pan.

195. Lyon. Reinach, *R. S.*, IV, p. 529, 3.

A standing, ithyphallic ape stretches out its right forepaw, and has its left on its knee. Its tail is vestigial, its hindpaws are apart. The features and the hair are carefully marked, but the paws are crudely done.

196. Toulouse. Reinach, *R. S.*, II, p. 767, 7.

A standing ape has a cloak over its left shoulder and a bucket in its right forepaw. Its hindpaws are broken; its phallus, features and paws are modelled.

197. Collection Gréau (273). Reinach, *R. S.*, II, p. 767, 8.

A hooded and cloaked ape stands upon a lotus-formed capital. Its arms are under the cloak, its hindpaws merge into the capital.

198. From Viterbo. Koerte, *Bull. d'Inst.*, 1876, p. 253. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 3, note 32; p. 5.

An ape carries a mask. Keller calls it a tragic mask; Koerte calls it a comic mask. Ht. 5 cm.

199. Geneva. Museum of Art and History (213). From Rome. Deonna, *R. Arch.*, XX (1912), p. 42, 7. Reinach, *R. S.*, V, p. 456, 6. W. Deonna, *Catalogue des bronzes figurés antiques, ville de Genève, Musée d'art et d'histoire* (Zuerich, 1915-16), no. 242.

An ape kneels on a square base with its arms outstretched. The paws are missing. Ht. 3 cm.

200. Paris. Louvre. A. de Longpérier, *Notice des bronzes antiques du Musée national du Louvre* (Paris, 1879), p. 175, no. 755. Reinach, *R. S.*, II, p. 767, 1.

An ape grasps a pole with all four paws. The head and

paws are modelled. The pole is broken at the top and was probably part of a larger bronze piece. Ht. 4.8 cm.

201. Le comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités*, VII (Paris, 1767), pl. L, 2-3; pp. 199-200. Reinach, *R. S.*, II, 767, 3.

An ape squats on a square base. Its legs are pulled in, its right forepaw is scratching its rump, its left on its right knee. It looks to the left. The features and paws are clearly marked. The hindpaws are most apelike. The skin is marked with short lines to show the hair. The base is attached to a bracket. Ht. of ape, 4.8 cm.; ht. of base and bracket, 1.4 cm. Greco-Roman.

202. Reinach, *R. S.*, II, p. 767, 5.

A monkey is seated on a square block, over which its tail curls to the left. Its forepaws are on its knees. Its features and paws are modelled. There is a ring in the middle of its back.

203. Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. E. Babelon and J. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1895), no. 1202. Reinach, *R. S.*, II, p. 767, 9.

An ape is kneeling on the capital of a column. Green patina, mediocre work. Ht. 6.6 cm.

204. Courtot Collection. Reinach, *R. S.*, IV, p. 529, I.

An ape is squatting on a rectangular base with its elbows on its knees and its forepaws to its snout. Crude work.

205. Turin. Museo di Antichità. Hans Duetschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien*, IV (Leipzig, 1880), p. 112, f.

A hollow cast bronze figurine of a seated ape. It holds an unrecognizable object to its breast with its right forepaw, its left is on its knees. Much damaged. Ht. 9.2 cm.

206. Cairo. Museum (27877). Freiherr von Bissing, *Arch. Anz.*, XVIII (1903), col. 149, fig. 4, m. C. C. Edgar, *Greek Bronzes*, *Catalogue général du Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1904), p. 63, no. 27877, pl. VI. Reinach, *R. S.*, III, p. 288, 5.

A monkey is in a sitting position. Its hindpaws clasped on a ring formed by the end of its tail. Its forepaws hold an indistinct object (food?) below its snout. It is the handle

of a shaft of some sort, around which the ring and all four limbs would fit. There is a nail-hole at the rear of the ring for attachment to the shaft, which is lost. Solid cast with a rusty green patina. Greco-Egyptian. Ht. 7.8 cm.

207. Athens. National Museum. Demetriou Collection. From Alexandria. Puchstein, *Ath. Mitt.*, VII (1882), p. 14, no. 3326. Schreiber, *Ath. Mitt.*, X (1885), p. 333, pl. XI, 2. Reinach, *R. S.*, II, p. 562, 4. Wace, *B. S. A.*, X (1903-04), p. 107, E 5. G. H. Beardsley, *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization* (Baltimore, 1929), p. 93, no. 203.

An emaciated Ethiopian trader sits asleep on a squared base, with his wares (fruit) upon the ground. On his right shoulder sits a small monkey grasping its master's hair; it is probably searching for lice. Alexandrian work. Ht. 5 cm.

208. London. British Museum. Hamilton Collection. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes* (London, 1899), p. 284, no. 1851.

An ape squatting on a base has its right leg doubled under its left and its forepaws on its knees. Greco-Roman period. Ht. 4.2 cm.

209. Cologne. Collection of C. A. Niessen. S. Loescheke, *Beschreibung roemischer Altertuemer gesammelt von C. A. Niessen* (Cologne, 1911), I, p. 220, no. 4234; II, pl. CXXVII.

A monkey stands on a squared pedestal, bent forward in a very natural posture. The hair and the details of the paws and face are clearly marked. A little monkey clings to the older one's shoulders. In the monkey's left forepaw is a bunch of grapes. The right arm and tail are broken off. Excellent, natural work. Ht. 6.5 cm.

210. Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Museum (30945). From the middle of France (1887). S. Reinach, *Antiquités nationales, Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine* (Paris, 1894), p. 264, no. 255 (figure).

A crude bronze figurine shows a squatting ape holding its little one to its breast. The older ape has a long, blunt snout, and a collar around its neck. The hindpaws are broken off. Crude Gallo-Roman work. Ht. 6 cm.

211. Xanten. Houben's Antiquarium. Franz Fiedler, *Denkmaeler von Castra Vetera und Colonia Traiana in Ph. Houben's Antiquarium* (Xanten, 1839), p. 60, pl. XXVIII, fig. 1. Reinach, *R. S.*, II, p. 767, 8.

A squatting ape has its right forepaw to its rump, and with its left forepaw holds some object before its breast. The snout is blunt, there is a "hood" marked above the eyes, the eyes and snout are incised. The animal looks up. Reinach says it may not be antique. Ht. 4.5 cm.

## 2. Attachments to Vases (212-235).

- 212-214. Florence. Museo Archeologico. From tomba a fosso no. 41 of the Circolo della Perazzeta at Marsiliana d'Albegna. D. Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and the Early Etruscans* (Oxford, 1924), p. 187. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 372; pl. XIV, 8.

Three figurines of bronze represent apes resting their elbows on their knees, and holding their paws to their snouts. They were originally fastened to the bowl of a tripod. The one on Bonacelli's plate wears a cap. Etruscan work; eighth century.

215. Karlsruhe. Museum (B, 1894). From Vulci (1884). K. Schumacher, *Beschreibung der Sammlung antiker Bronzen zu Karlsruhe* (Karlsruhe, 1890), no. 534, pl. X, 6.

The bronze handle of a vase has a palmette at the bottom, the top ends in a lion's mask flanked by the heads of two apes. Etruscan work, end of sixth century. Ht. 22.5 cm.

- 216-225. Karlsruhe. Museum (98, 102, 101, C2020, 112, 106, 108, 92, 113, 116). Maler collection. Schumacher, *op. cit.*, nos. 537-546.

In general as above. Hts. 17.3 to 8 cm.

- 226-227. From Capodimonte. Helbig, *Roem. Mitt.*, I (1886), p. 28, nos. 5-6.

Two bronze jar handles consist of a lion's head in the middle and two apes' heads flanking. The lower end of the first is a palmette; of the second a panther in relief. Etruscan work, sixth century. Ht. 15.3 cm.

- 228.** Berlin. The Old Museum. The von Koller Collection (405). Carl Friederichs, *Berlins antike Bildwerke* (Duesseldorf, 1868-71), II, p. 296, no. 1404. Cf. L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, p. 267, note 9.

The handle of a single-handled, Etruscan pitcher is decorated by two snakes, by a lion's head flanked by two apes' heads at the top, and by a palmette at the bottom. Ht. 13.2 cm.

- 229.** Berlin. The Old Museum (bought by Gerhard in Italy in 1841, Inv. 2681). Friederichs, *op. cit.*, II, p. 296, no. 1408. Cf. Stephani, *loc. cit.*

As above. There is a head at the bottom, and at the top a human head surrounded by apes' heads. Ht. 12.7 cm.

- 230.** Berlin. The Old Museum (bought by Gerhard in Italy in 1841, Inv. 2667). Carl Friederichs, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 166-167, no. 689. Cf. L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, p. 267, note 8.

An incense vase of Etruscan form, in the shape of a candelabrum rests on human legs which are bound together by a garment. An ape, holding a bird captive in one paw climbs up the shaft, which is spirally fluted. The vase is apparently of bronze. Ht. of vase, 49.8 cm.

- 231.** Tarquinii (Corneto). Oscar Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des metaux*, II 2 (Stockholm, 1904), pl. 285, 3.

On the bronze handle of a jar an ape clings with one fore- and one hindpaw on each side of the handle. No details are worked, there is a hole at the bottom for riveting. Etruscan. Ht. 3.2 cm.; width, 2 cm.

- 232.** Athens. National Museum. A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes de la Société archéologique d'Athènes* (Paris, 1894), p. 179, no. 966.

A grayish-green bronze ape's head serves as an attachment to a vase. Ht. 1.3 cm.; width, 1.2 cm.; thickness, 0.6 cm.

- 233.** Sparta. Museum. Lane, *B. S. A.*, XXXIV (1933-34), pp. 161, 169, pl. 41e.

An ape squats on the bronze handle of a vase. Its head is twisted to the right and its snout is long. In its right forepaw

it holds a piece of fruit (shaped like a cucumber or a banana), its knees are drawn up, and its left forepaw is held to the side of its head.

234. Sparta. Museum. From the Acropolis. Lane, *loc. cit.*

As above.

235. Sparta. Museum. Wace, "Excavations at Sparta, 1906," *B. S. A.*, XII (1905-06), p. 293.

A little ape sits on a bronze bowl handle. This may be the same as one of the two previous examples.

### 3. *Fibulae* (236-245).

236. Cologna Veneta (Verona). Museo Civico. From Baldaria. Gardellini, *Not. Scav.*, 1896, p. 508, fig. 1. Petersen, *Roem. Mitt.*, XII (1897), p. 16, note 1. Ghirardini, *B. Pal. It.*, XXII (1897), pp. 133-134, fig. 3. A. Grenier, *Bologne, villanovienne et étrusque* (Paris, 1912), p. 294, note 1. P. Ducati, *Storia dell' arte etrusca* (2 vols., Florence, 1927), I, p. 346, note 16. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 371 (figure).

A bronze fibula shaped like a boat with a long beak, has on its arc three apes which crouch with their forepaws to their snouts, and their elbows on their knees. The central figure sits on the center of the arc, the other two on two projections on either side of the central figure. Length 6 cm.; width 3 cm.

237-239. Tarquinii. Museum. From the Bokenranef tomba a camera at Tarquinii (Corneto). Helbig, *Not. Scav.*, 1896, pp. 16-17. Pignoni, *B. Pal. It.*, XXII (1896), p. 300. Ghirardini, *B. Pal. It.*, XXIII (1897), p. 134, note 3. Montelius, *op. cit.*, II, 2, pl. 295, 6. Ducati, *op. cit.*, I, p. 346, note 15. Giglioli, *Studi Etruschi*, V (1931), pp. 96-97. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 370, pl. XIV, 4-6.

Each of three horse-shaped bronze fibulae has perched on the rump of the horse a little squatting ape. The horse has an elongated head, its forefeet are the hook of the pin, its hindfeet (now broken) were the spring. The ape is crouched with its paws to its snout. Much corroded. Etruscan period, last quarter of the eighth century. Length 3.7 cm.; width 2.7 cm.; size of the monkey 0.9 cm.

- 240.** Bononia (Bologna). Museo Civico. From Benacci (tomb no. 520). Grenier, *op. cit.*, p. 293, fig. 93, 2. Ducati, *Storia dell' arte etrusca*, I, p. 346, note 17. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 370, pl. XIV, 7.

As above, but in a much better state of preservation. Etruscan—seventh century.

- 241.** Rome. Villa Giulia (10684). From Satricum. A. della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, I (Rome, 1918), p. 287.

As above.

- 242.** From Luca (tomb no. 90). Grenier, *op. cit.*, p. 294, note 1.

A little ape is perched on the arc of a bronze fibula.

- 243.** Este. Museum. From the Villa Benvenuti near Este (1842). A. Prosdocimi, *Not. Scav.*, 1882, pp. 22-23, pl. IV, fig. 15. Montelius, *op. cit.*, I, pl. VII, fig. 77; pl. 51, fig. 4. Anna Roes, *Greek Geometric Art* (Haarlem and Oxford, 1933), p. 84.

A curious bronze fibula. The arc of the fibula consists of three horses side by side, of which the two outer ones are flanked by two round shields, decorated by concentric circles. These two are ridden by horsemen, the middle one is ridden by a duck, and on the rump of each horse squats an ape. The bodies of the three apes are pierced, probably for the insertion of a cord or chain. The riders wear helmets, and merge into the horses' bodies. The horses' heads and the apes are formalized. Ht. 3.3 cm.; length 5 cm.

- 244.** Berlin. Antiquarium. From Bologna. Montelius, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 94, fig. 19. Roes, *op. cit.*, p. 83, fig. 68.

A bronze fibula. The arc of the fibula is a rider on a horse. The rider is a mere cylinder merging into the horse and topped with a head. The horse's head is formalized too, the mane is indicated by indentations making it look like the comb of a cock. The horse's head, shoulders and flanks are decorated by incised, concentric circles. From both sides of its neck spring double bird's heads, and on its rump is a squatting ape, the various features of which cannot be satisfactorily discerned. Ht. 4 cm.; length 4.4 cm.

- 245.** Bourges. Reinach, *R. S.*, III, p. 223, 6.

A monkey on all fours, with outstretched tail, in the form of a fibula. Etruscan (?).



#### 4. *Miscellaneous groups (246-261).*

246. London. British Museum. (W. T. 909.) From Ruvo. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes* (London, 1899), p. 57, no. 383. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II (Cambridge, 1925), p. 649, note 4, fig. 577. Roes, *op. cit.*, p. 86, fig. 69.

A bronze votive axe-head has two pendants in the form of apes with their legs drawn up and their paws to their snouts. The figures surely are not animals of the sun-god, as Roes says. The upper part of the axe ends in two ducks' heads. Although the shape of the axe-head is a shape really used, this bronze could only be suspended, as there is no place to fasten the handle. For the apotropaic and religious meaning of axe heads cf. Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 513-704. Villanovan, eighth century. Length 10.8 cm.

247. London. British Museum. Payne Knight Collection. From Campania. J. M. Kemble, *Archaeologia*, XXXVI (1856), p. 359. W. M. Wylie, *Archaeologia*, XLI (1867), p. 282. Walters, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54, no. 346.

On a bronze plate is a ploughing scene. In front and behind the oxen stand two nude, ithyphallic figures with female breasts and ape-like heads. Two square plates are fastened by wire to the main plate. These terminate in rings flanked on either side by rude figures with ape-like heads standing on two birds. These plates were probably connected in some way with the worship of Ceres or a primitive Italian agricultural god: Walters, *op. cit.*, pp. xlv-xlvi, and p. 53, on no. 345; cf. Petersen, *Roem. Mitt.*, XII (1897), pp. 3-26. Italic work, before Greek influence—eighth century. Ht. 29 cm.

248. London. British Museum. Comarmond Collection (1851). Probably from France or Italy. Kemble, *loc. cit.*, p. 363, pl. XXVII, fig. 1. Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 55, no. 356. M. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* (3rd ed., rev. by O. Menghin, Vienna, 1925), p. 499, no. 1, p. 639.

An elaborate pair of collars with a hinged connecting piece. One side of each collar and the connecting piece are decorated with elaborate open work. The open work consists of the repetition of birds and crude semi-human figures. The semi-human figures stand with arms stretched out and legs spread apart, no details are marked except in the head, which

is quite simian. The mouth and ears are large, and the general appearance is bestial. The figures may be ape-headed men (Walters calls them human). Length 94.6 cm. Primitive work, before Greek influence.

249. London. British Museum. Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 53, no. 339.

Two crouching figures with intertwined arms. The head of one and the lower legs of both are broken. The remaining head is ape-like. Primitive work, before Greek influence. Ht. 4.4 cm.

250. Florence. Museo Archeologico. From the Circolo di Bes at Vetulonia. I. Falchi, *Vetulonia e la sua necropoli antichissima* (Florence, 1891), pp. 107-108, v; pl. VIII, 15. Hoernes, *Mittheilungen der praehistorischen Commission der k. Akademie der Wissensch. zu Wien*, I, 4 (1897), pp. 201-202, fig. 22. Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, II, 1 (Stockholm, 1910), II, 1, pl. 181, 11. F. von Duhn, *Italische Graebekunde*, I (Heidelberg, 1924), p. 248. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 459, fig. 6. D. Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Oxford, 1924), p. 110. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 372; pl. XIV, 9; XV, 3.

A bronze object shaped like a ladder is probably an elaborate bit. The bar in the middle has nine cross pieces. To the middle cross piece is fastened a ring, from which a loose ring dangles. At the left (in Bonacelli's fig. 9 on pl. XIV) are three posts topped with apes and, except the middle one, ending in rings, from which loose rings dangle. The corner figurines are apes with their forepaws on their knees, the middle one is the bust of an ape. The same description holds for the other end of the bar, except that the middle post has a stationary ring, but no loose one. The work is very crude, eighth century. Few details are marked in the figures. The suggestion of von Duhn that it is a hilt is not feasible. Ht. 7.5 cm.; width 2.5 cm.; length 11 cm.

251. Florence. Museo Archeologico. From the Circolo della Constaiccia Bambagini at Vetulonia. Falchi e Pernier, *Not. Scav.*, 1913, pp. 434-435, figs. 18-19. von Duhn, *op. cit.*, p. 264. Reinach, *R. S.*, V, p. 253, 2. Messerschmidt, *Studi Etruschi*, V (1931), p. 79, pl. VI, 3. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 372, pl. XV, 2.

A candelabrum of bronze (ht. 78 cm.) is set on four feet,

on each of which is a crudely modelled head. There are five horizontal cross pieces, at the top a decorative piece is fastened on (ht. 7 cm.; width 6.7 cm.). This piece consists of three figures, a man standing with his hands on the heads of two apes with pointed snouts which are seated with their backs to the center and their forepaws on their knees. Crude work, seventh century.

- 252.** Florence. Museo Archeologico. From the Circolo delle Sfingi at Vetulonia. Falchi, *Not. Scav.*, 1900, p. 477, fig. 8. Montelius, *op. cit.*, II, 1, pl. 179, 8. Montelius, *Die vorklassische Chronologie Italiens* (Stockholm, 1912), II, pl. 42, 4.

A bronze bit in six pieces. The two which were at the side of the horse's mouth have an ape standing with arms outstretched. The ape's ears are molded, the snout is not incised, the hindpaws merge into the ring, the arms are extraordinarily long. Two very similar bits were found at Vetulonia (Secondo Circolo delle Pellicie) in 1887, but the figures in this case are human; Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 143, pl. 24, bottom row; I. Falchi, *Vetulonia*, p. 168, a, pl. XV, 21: two more with human figures from Vetulonia (Circolo dei Monili); Falchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-1, pl. VII, 13. Etruscan.

- 253-256.** Florence. Museo Archeologico. From the Tombe delle Lancie at Vetulonia. Falchi, *Vetulonia*, p. 193; pl. XVII, 11. Evans, *J. H. S.*, XIII (1892-93), p. 204, note 28. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 372, pl. XV, 5.

On four bronze bits two apes squat back to back (separated by a metal bar), holding some object on their knees. Early Etruscan.

- 257.** Florence. Museo Archeologico. From the Circolo della Perazeta at Marsiliana d'Albegna. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 372, pl. XV, 1.

A bronze bit is made of two connected rectangles. At the four corners of each of the rectangles are crudely modelled apes' heads. Early Etruscan work.

- 258.** Florence. Museo Archeologico. From the Circolo della Perazeta at Marsiliana d'Albegna. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 372, pl. XV, 7.

A bronze bit elaborately made is studded with twenty-one heads of apes and two ducks. Early Etruscan.

**259-260.** Florence. Museo Archeologico. From the Circolo della Perazzeta at Marsiliana d'Albegna. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 372, pl. XV, 4 and 6.

Two bronze bits on which two apes with outstretched arms stand between two posts topped with apes' heads. Early Etruscan.

**261.** From Praeneste (Palestrina). Montelius, *op. cit.*, II, 2, pl. 368, 3.

Two bronze figures are probably apes. The left one holds a large round object under its left arm (cocoanut). The ears are marked; the heads ape-like; the arms are very long. Both hindpaws of the left figure and the left hindpaw of the right figure are broken. To the right elbow of the left figure and the left elbow of the right figure are pieces which were originally part of some larger design. Etruscan work. Ht. and width 7 cm.

#### C. MISCELLANEOUS MATERIAL

The objects in this group are heterogeneous. They have been subdivided according to the material of which they are made. Each item must be considered individually except the objects in the first and sixth groups.

1. *Faïence* (262-273). These figurines show the marked influence of Egypt. The figurine from Hagia Triada was probably made in Egypt and taken to Crete; the figurines from Rhodes may have been made at local faïence factories, the existence of which is at least highly probable (cf. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques*, I, pp. 178-179, who speaks only of figure vases, but figurines and figure vases are closely connected in subject and technique); the figurine from Ptolemaic times is Hellenistic, made very probably by Greek artisans using a type they knew from Greek terracottas as well as from Egyptian models.

2. *Stone or marble* (274-276).

3. *Ivory* (277-285).

4. *Gold or silver* (286-287).

5. *Bone* (288).

6. *Amber* (289-299). These figurines are a homogeneous group, all from Etruscan sites. The material was known to the Greeks, Egyptians, and Phoenicians as well as to the Etruscans. The workmanship is probably Etruscan. Bonacelli suggests that the amber may not be Baltic, but Tuscan or north African (*Scimmia*, pp. 361-363).

7. *Lapis lazuli* (300-301).

8. *Glass or paste* (302-303).

1. *Faïence* (262-273).

262. From Hagia Triada. Halbherr, "Scavi—ad Haghia Triada ed a Festo—1904," *Memorie Inst. Lombard.*, XXI (1899-1907), p. 251, pl. XI, fig. 27 (third from last figure—on its side by error).

A squatting ape, which seems to be a cynocephalus. Details are not clearly marked, the head is missing. The shoulders are pierced for suspension. Faïence—Egyptian or imitation of an Egyptian model. Middle Minoan III—1750-1580.

- 263-264. Amathus. The Cyprus Museum. From Amathus (28, 98). J. L. Myres and M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* (Oxford, 1899), p. 137, nos. 4751-2.

Two Naucratic porcelain amulets in the form of apes.

- 265-269. Rhodes. From the Acropolis of Lindos (excavations of 1902-14). Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I (Berlin, 1931), col. 347, no. 1251.

A squatting ape of which the front is damaged has its left forepaw to its mouth. Ht. 6.9 cm. The lower parts of four similar figurines. Egyptian faïence work.

270. Rhodes. From the Acropolis of Camirus (14650, excavations of 1930). G. Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII (Rhodes, 1932), p. 310, no. 17, fig. 50.

Faïence fragment of a statuette; broken at top of head and below the neck. The eyes, snout and ears are well marked. A band of parallel depressions runs around face of animal, which is probably a cynocephalus. Ht. 4.2 cm.

271. Rhodes. From the Acropolis of Lindos (excavations of 1902-14). Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, I, col. 347, no. 1252; pl. 55.

An ape plays on the double flute. It is seated on a squared

block. The head is pierced for suspension. There is black on the top of the head, the flutes, in a band around the waist, and on the front of the legs. Ht. 4.8 cm.

272. Athens. National Museum (256). J. Martha, *Catalogue des figurines en terre cuite du Musée de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes* (Paris, 1880), p. 206, no. 997.

A corroded fragment of an ape's head of white clay, enamelled blue. Ht. 5 cm.; width 3 cm.

273. London. British Museum (48014). From Egypt. *British Museum Quarterly*, I (1926), p. 42; pl. XXIII, c.

On a basis a horse rears up; on its back is a monkey clinging to the horse's mane with its forepaws, and to its sides with its hindpaws. Under the horse the material is not cut away. The two animals look in opposite directions. The modelling is spirited: faïence, Ptolemaic period, Greco-Egyptian.

## 2. Stone or marble (274-276).

274. Knossus. From the Little Palace (the House of the Fetish Shrine). Evans, "Knossos Excavations, 1905," *B. S. A.*, XI (1904-05), pp. 1-26 (especially p. 11, fig. 4). L. R. Farnell, "Cretan Influence in Greek Religion," in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Sir Arthur Evans* (ed. by S. Casson, Oxford, 1927), p. 14. Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, 1 (London, 1928), p. 346, fig. 198.

Among some fetishes in the form of unworked, natural concretions is an ape. Unlike the other stones this one shows some working: i. e. two ridges, one to show the neck, another to show the bottom of the folded arms; the eyes and snout are marked. Two of the fetishes have been identified as Rhea and the child Zeus. In view of the fact that they are never connected with an ape, we may assume that the presence of the ape is here an accident. The modelling of the ape marks a strong distinction. It was probably picked up by some Cretan (in Crete or in Egypt) who had seen Egyptian statuettes of apes. With this we may compare the naturally formed flint images found by Petrie at Abydos, cf. Jean Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt* (tr. by A. S. Griffith, London, 1905), p. 187. The shrine dates from Late Minoan,

and probably marks a recrudescence of and a reminder of an earlier cult; hence the ape may have been picked up any time earlier.

- 275.** Ince (in Lancashire). Blundell Hall (formerly in the Mattei Palace). A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (tr. Fennel, Cambridge, 1882), p. 255, no. 57. Reinach, *R. S.*, II, p. 767, 2.

A cynocephalus squats on a round base. Its knees are drawn up and its forepaws are on its knees. The hindpaws are broken. The features, the paws and the phallus are modelled. Gray, spotted marble.

- 276.** Rome. Museo Vaticano. Sala degli Animali. W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des vaticanischen Museums* (2 vols., Berlin, 1903-08), I, pl. 42; II, p. 384, no. 222. Reinach, *R. S.*, IV, 529, 5. Ball, A. A., III (1916), p. 100 (full page illustration).

A monkey squats on a base to the left, and looks front. The statuette as restored shows the animal holding a cocoanut in both forepaws. It seems to have been about to break it on a stone on the ground, when startled it looked to the left. Amelung calls the two objects a melon and a pear. Finely carved, but only one piece, the hind part, the hindpaws and a piece of the base is ancient (of yellowish marble), the rest is restored, and the ancient part has been reworked. Ht. 60 cm.

### 3. Ivory (277-285).

- 277.** Candia. Museum (1040). From hut zeta at Platanos. Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, I (London, 1921), p. 118, fig. 87, 1, a-c (drawn from a cast); IV, 2 (London, 1935), p. 386, fig. 411. S. Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesará* (tr. J. D. Droop, London, 1924), p. 114, pl. XIII, no. 1040. Fr. Matz, *Die fruehkretischen Siegel* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928), pp. 6-7, no. 3, 31, pl. VII, 8. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 377, note 1.

An ivory seal which takes the form of a squatting ape, whose forepaws touch the ground between its hindpaws. The sealing design consists of three twisted lions. The ears of the ape are carved, the eyes are marked by holes. One hole pierced through the shoulders is met by a second from the top of the head. Early Minoan III. Evans says that this seal is from a tholos ossuary. Ht. 3.4 cm.

- 278.** Candia. Museum (447). From a tholos at Hagia Triada. Matz, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7, no. 4, 31.

An ivory seal resembling the preceding example.

- 279.** From Trapeza in Crete. *A. J. A.*, XL (1936), p. 371. *Arch. Anz.*, LI (1936), p. 163, fig. 18. *Illustrated London News* (Nov. 28, 1936), p. 961, fig. 4. Megaw, *J. H. S.*, XVI (1936), pp. 154-155, fig. 14.

An ivory seal in the form of a seated monkey with its forepaws on its knees. The seal is pierced for suspension. Early Minoan II.

- 280.** Candia. Museum. From tholos A at Platanos. Xanthoudides, *op. cit.*, p. 122, no. 1026, pl. XV. H. R. Hall, *The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age* (London, 1928), pp. 69-71, fig. 75.

An ivory amulet in the form of two apes, back to back. The eyes are marked by holes, the rest of the details are done in low relief. The apes are represented only to the waist. The hole for suspension is between the heads at the necks. Hall incorrectly calls it a seal. Early Minoan III. Ht. 4 cm.

- 281.** From Aetós in Southern Ithaca (excavations of 1932). Heurtley, *London Illustrated News* (1/14/33), p. 45, fig. 6.

An ivory pendant in the form of a monkey on an oval base holding a young one. The young monkey stretches out its left arm. The features are clearly marked; the eyes are deeply incised rings with dots. A suspension hole is cut through the head of the large monkey above the ears. Seventh century B. C. Ht. 3 cm.

- 282.** From the tomba a corridoio, no. 55 at Tarquinii (Corneto). Helbig, *Bull. d'Inst.*, 1885, p. 215. Helbig, *Not. Scav.*, 1896, p. 17, note 1. Martha, *L'art étrusque* (Paris, 1889), p. 106. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 361, note 2.

A figurine of ivory represents an ape squatting with both forepaws to its muzzle. The bottom is pointed, as though it were meant to be stuck into a wooden lid. It was found with objects of oriental manufacture, or showing oriental influence. Ht. 2.5 cm.

- 283.** Florence. Museo Archeologico. From the Circolo della Perazetta at Marsiliana d'Albegna. D. Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Oxford, 1924), p. 188.

A squatting monkey is carved on a small ivory ring.



284. Florence. Museo Archeologico. From the Circolo della Perazetta at Marsiliana d'Albegna. Randall-MacIver, *loc. cit.*

A broken ivory seal has a monkey on one side and a seated divinity on the other.

285. London. British Museum. From Camirus. C. Smith in D. G. Hogarth and others, *The Excavations at Ephesus, the Archaic Artemisia* (London, 1908), p. 181, pl. XXX, 8. Reinach, *R. S.*, IV, p. 529, 4.

An ivory amulet in the shape of a squatting ape with its paws to its snout. It is pierced with three holes. Naucratic influence. Ht. 3.3 cm.

#### 4. Gold or silver (286-287).

286. Munich. Museum. From the Tomba de Pentecosto at Vulci. O. Montelius, *Civilisation primitive en Italie*, II, 2 (Stockholm, 1904), pl. 261, 1 b. G. Pinza and B. Nogara, *Materiali per la etnologia antica Toscano-Laziale*, I (Milan, 1915), p. 144, fig. 94.

An elaborate gold fibula is ornamented at the broad end by a semicircle set on metal spirals. On the semicircle are seven birds. The top part of the pin has two bends. On the first is a highly formalized ape, on the second an unidentified animal. The ape squats with paws to knees. The details of the paws and the face are not marked. The ears and the hair of the head and body are marked by granulated lines. The snout of the ape is prominent, but it is not a cynocephalus. Etruscan work. Length of the fibula, 18.5 cm.

287. From Rome. Braun, *Arch. Zeit.*, IV (1846), pp. 246, 311. O. Jahn, *Archaeologische Beitræge* (Berlin, 1847), p. 436. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 16, note 137.

A silver statuette shows Perseus holding a curved sword in his left hand, in his right he holds an ape's head instead of the head of the Gorgon. Braun makes the hazardous suggestion that it was a sign that the gorgon-figure grew out of the ape-model. Roman.

#### 5. Bone (288).

288. From Northern Dalmatia. Abramčić and Colnago, *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.*, XII (1909), *Beiblatt*, cols. 110-111, fig. 84.

A bone handle for a knife is carved in the form of a stand-

ing ape, dressed in a cloak, on the breast of which are two swastikas. The ape is probably meant to caricature an actor. Both forepaws are concealed in the long cloak. The head is carved realistically with the ape's large mouth pulled to the left side in a comico-tragic way, which reminds one of the masks used in drama. The feet are lost in the split where the knife blade had been inserted. The back side is split for the reception of this blade. Two similar handles from Cologne represent Apollo with his lyre and a standing, armed gladiator (*Bonn. Jb.*, CXIV-CXV (1906), pls. XXIII, 35, k, and XXV, 59, p). The date is about 200 A. D.

#### 6. Amber (289-299).

289. Florence. Museo Archeologico. From the Circolo dei Monili at Vetulonia. Isadoro Falchi, *Vetulonia e la sua necropoli antichissima* (Florence, 1891), pp. 101-102, pl. VII, 4. Evans, *J. H. S.*, XIII (1892-93), p. 204, note 29. Helbig, *Not. Scav.*, 1896, p. 17, note 1. Ghiradini, *B. Pal. It.*, XXIII (1897), p. 134, note 5. Petersen, *Roem. Mitt.*, XII (1897), p. 16, note 1. Milani, *Studi e materiali*, II (Florence, 1902), pp. 91-92, fig. 292 a. O. Montelius, *Civilisation primitive en Italie*, II, 1 (Stockholm, 1904), pl. 182, 7. O. Montelius, *Die vorklassische Chronologie Italiens* (Stockholm, 1912), II, pl. 51, 10. A. Grenier, *Bologne villanovienne et étrusque* (Paris, 1912), p. 304, note 5. Fr. von Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde*, I (Heidelberg, 1924), p. 249. D. Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Oxford, 1924), p. 107, fig. 25. L. A. Holland, *The Faliscans in Prehistoric Times* (Rome, 1925), p. 118, note 303. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, pp. 363-364, pl. XIV, 1.

An amber figurine represents an ape squatting on a rectangular base. The animal rests its elbows on its knees, and supports its chin with its forepaws. The features of the face, and the digits of the paws are marked. The hair of the head is marked by parallel lines. The ears are large and rounded. The head is pierced from ear to ear for suspension. The figurine is one of a group of amber figurines and beads which were originally strung together to form a necklace. In Bonacelli's figure several of these, including the ape, are so strung. Falchi, Milani and von Duhn speak of this animal as a cynocephalus, but it seems rather to be a Barbary ape. The carving is fairly realistic—seventh century Etruscan work. Ht. 2.9 cm.

290. Florence. Museo Archeologico. From the Circolo del Tridente at Vetulonia. Falchi, *Not. Scav.*, 1908, p. 437, fig. 21. Reinach, *R. S.*, IV, p. 529, 2. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 365, pl. XIV, 2.

As above, except that the rectangular base is supported by four balls. Reinach erroneously reports it as bronze. The snout is rounded.

291. Rome. Villa Giulia. From Petrina near Falerii veteres (Civita Castellana). Grenier, *op. cit.*, p. 304, note 5. A. della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, I (Rome, 1918), p. 91.

An amber amulet in the form of a crouching ape, which sits on a small base; its legs go into the base, its forepaws are clasped around its snout, its elbows are on its knees. Its eyes are circles with dots, its ears are marked, the curve of its back is very rounded. Seventh century Etruscan work. Ht. 2.4 cm.

- 292-293. Rome. Villa Giulia. Castellani Collection. From Praeneste. E. Fernique, *Étude sur Préneste* (Paris, 1880), p. 176, note 23. Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 118, note 304. von Duhn, *op. cit.*, p. 514. Pinza and Nogara, *op. cit.*, pl. 26, a and c.

As above; two examples.

- 294-297. Rome. Villa Giulia (12031-4). From Satricum. della Seta, *op. cit.*, p. 247. Giglioli, *Studi Etruschi*, III (1929), p. 123.

Four examples like the preceding.

298. Rome. Villa Giulia. From Narce (Monte lo Greco, Field D, tomb 18). Barnabei and Pasqui, *Mon. Ant.*, IV (1894), cols. 383, 440; pl. IX, fig. 21. Hoernes, *Mittheilungen der prae-historischen Commission der k. Akad. der Wissensch. zu Wien*, I, 4 (1897), p. 197, fig. 18. O. Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, II, 2 (Stockholm, 1904), pl. 318, fig. 17. W. Helbig, *Fuehrer durch die Sammlungen in Rom* (2 vols., 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1912-13), II, p. 375. M. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* (3rd ed., Vienna, 1925), p. 451, fig. 5, pp. 631-632. Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 118. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 364, note 1.

As above; from the grave of a woman and a little girl. Ht. 2.5 cm.

299. Rome. Villa Giulia. Castellani Collection. From Cervetri (Caere). Helbig, *Bull. d'Inst.*, 1874, pp. 87-88. Helbig, *Annali*, XLVII (1875), pp. 224-225, pl. I, 1. *Bull. d'Inst.*, 1875, p. 49.

An amber figurine in the shape of a monkey lying down

with its tail curled up in front, and the hole for suspension pierced between its forepaws.

7. *Lapis lazuli* (300-301).

300. Cnossus. From the Royal Tomb of Isopata. Sir Arthur Evans, *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos* (reprinted from *Archaeologia*, LIX, London, 1906), pp. 152-153, fig. 131, a.

A pendant of pale lapis lazuli in the form of a monkey is pierced once lengthwise and twice sidewise. The animal is squatting, with knees drawn up, elbows on knees, and paws to ears. The head has the flat top and pointed snout found on Corinthian alabaster. The eyes are marked by incisions. The tail runs up the back. In view of the Cretan beads with which it was found it is probably a Cretan imitation of Egyptian work. Middle Minoan III (1750-1580). Ht. 1.9 cm.

301. Cnossus. From the Royal Tomb of Isopata. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 153, fig. 131 b.

A lapis lazuli pendant in the form of a monkey. It is pierced once sidewise. It squats on a square base with its forepaws on its knees, and its tail curling around by the right hindpaw. The head is bent forward and is carved quite naturally; eyes and ears are marked by carving, and mouth by incised lines. Cretan work in imitation of an Egyptian model, Middle Minoan III. Ht. 1.9 cm.

8. *Glass or paste* (302-303).

302. Athens. National Museum (Case 47, no. 4573). From Mycenae. Hall, *B. S. A.*, VIII (1901-02), p. 188, fig. 13. Valerios Staïs, *Collection Mycénienne du Musée National d'Athènes*, II (Athens, 1909), p. 82, no. 4573. R. Dussaud, *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la mer Egée* (2nd ed., Paris, 1914), pp. 155-156, fig. 117. D. Fimmen, *Die kretisch-mykenische Kultur* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1921), pp. 174-175, fig. 169. G. Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization* (tr. of the French edition of 1923, New York, 1925), p. 209. H. R. Hall, *The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age* (London, 1928), p. 211, fig. 274.

An ape of a blue vitreous composition is the earliest dated Egyptian object from Mycenae. The head is quite natural-

istic, the eyes and nostrils are marked by color, and the ears are molded. On the right arm in yellow is the cartouche of Amenhotep II (1447-1420) which dates the figurine in Late Helladic II. The figurine is broken at the waist.

303. From Mazzano Romano. Pasqui, *Not. Scav.*, 1902, p. 325, fig. 4. Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 118, note 305.

A standing ape of black and yellow paste has its left forepaw to its hip. The details are not marked. A stripe of black is on the forehead and around the waist and shoulders. The lower legs and the right arm are broken. Eighth century. Ht. 4 cm.

303a. Rome. Pigorini Museum (room XLVIII). From Rhodes.

A small seated monkey with both forepaws to its mouth is made of white alabaster. It is exhibited among the Mycenaean objects, but may be later.

303b. Rhodes (105, excavations of 1918).

A tiny ape of lead is seated on a ball. Its forepaw holds a piece of fruit to its mouth.

## CHAPTER II

### VASES

#### A. DECORATED VASES

These vases have been subdivided into two classes.

1. *Painted vases (304-326)*. These vases are all Greek, ranging from the seventh to the fourth century B. C. Two votive plaques from Corinth have been included here, because these plaques are usually treated in histories of vase-painting.

2. *Vases decorated with relief (327-352)*. These vases represent a variety of materials (silver, clay, ivory, etc.) and of period (from the vase of Bokenranef to a late ivory pyxis).

#### 1. *Painted vases (304-326)*.

**304.** From Aetós in Southern Ithaca. W. A. Heurtley, *Illustrated London News* (Jan. 14, 1933), pp. 46-47, figs. 9-10. Cf. *A. J. A.*, XXXVII (1933), pp. 127, 156-157, 301, fig. 4. Payne, *J. H. S.*, LIII (1933), pp. 282-283, fig. 9.

One of the earliest signed vases found in Greece is a flat-bottomed oenochoe which curves into a tall stem, and is surmounted by a high handle, the top part of which is lost. Around the bottom is a band of dark paint, above it three lines of dark paint, above which is the main scene. Above the main scene are three narrow lines, the signature of the artist, four narrow lines, a broad band, five more lines, and the lip of the oenochoe which is marked with dark paint. The handle which is attached above the main scene is marked with incised lines. The main scene contains three animals. Two sphinxes are seated on either side of a conventionalized floral decoration, opposite squats an ape. Its head and hind quarters are in profile, its shoulders in full front. The proportions of the body are approximately correct, but the arms are much too thin. The breast is marked, but no other details are. Payne

suggests that it may be a stand, as it has no bottom, but the report in the *A. J. A.* (p. 127) says that there is a fish painted on the bottom.

The signature, *Καλικλέας ποίασε*, is in the Corinthian alphabet. The second word is unique. The lack of the augment, the alpha in the second syllable, the epsilon which usually stands in the early period for epsilon iota are all somewhat unusual; for the Corinthian alphabet cf. H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 158-169. For the early signed vases of Pyrrhos and Aristonothos which are about the same date as this vase cf. J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases* (Paris, 1924), pp. 3-7.

The vase is of a shape known from many early Corinthian examples: e.g. Payne, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIV, 3; J. Sieveking and R. Hackl, *Die Koenigliche Vasensammlung zu Muenchen*, I (Munich, 1912), p. 11, fig. 17; *J. H. S.*, XI (1890), p. 175; etc. The vase from Ithaca does not have the common trefoil lip, and the neck is longer than usual (about two-thirds of the total height of the vase). This shape is copied from Boeotian ware and appears again in Roman glass: cf. H. B. Walters, *A History of Ancient Pottery* (New York, 1905), I, p. 308. This vase is proto-Corinthian and dates from the early seventh century. Heurtley places it in the first quarter of the century. It is probably, as Payne suggests, a local Ithacan product, imitating imported ware. Ht. of the vase, 23 cm.; ht. of the figure of the ape *ca.* 5 cm.

305. From Aegina. L. Pallat, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII (1897), pp. 307-312, fig. 31 (b reproduces the fragment with the ape). Cf. K. F. Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniens* (Paris, 1923), p. 136.

On one of five fragments of a proto-Corinthian vase an ape squats, holding in its right paw a twig which it is eating. The ape is pictured in profile, the eye is full front—the slimmness of the forepaw is exaggerated, the snout is bird-like. The clay of the fragments is grayish-yellow or reddish. They date from about the middle of the seventh century.

- 306.** London. British Museum (A 1050). From an early Theban tomb. *J.H.S.*, X (1889), p. 253, pl. V. Smith, "A Proto-Korinthian Lekythos in the British Museum," *J.H.S.*, XI (1890), pp. 167-180, pls. I-II. Cf. H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 11, 68, note 1; 88, note 2; 94-95; 170; 172; 225; pl. I, 7. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, I, pp. 309-310, pl. XVII, fig. 3. G. Perrot and Ch. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, IX, pp. 545-546, figs. 270-271. E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (2nd ed., Munich, 1914), p. 49, fig. 32. P. Ducati, *L'arte classica* (Turin, 1920), p. 177, fig. 166. Johansen, *op. cit.*, p. 136, pl. XXXI. M. I. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques* (tr., Paris, 1927), I, pp. 188, 191. H. G. G. Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei* (Berlin, 1933), pl. 22, 1, 2, 5.

The diminutive pear-shaped lecythus, known as the Macmillan lecythus, is made of clay of fine texture and creamy yellow color. The decoration varies in color from blackish-brown to reddish-brown, with touches of purple. The top of the vase is molded into the form of a lion's head. Around the shoulder is a formalized decorative pattern, below that are three bands of figures, then there is a band showing a ray pattern, and on the base is a palmette. The whole is a masterpiece of miniature painting of proto-Corinthian style, about the middle of the seventh century (cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 11, 170). The main scene with figures is a war scene. In the second scene are horses, mounted by boy riders, racing to the left. Beneath one horse is a swan, beneath the next is an ape, half crouching, both fists clenched, shaking its right fist at the riders. In the third scene, on a much smaller scale, are hounds coursing a hare. In front of the hare another ape half crouches, a staff in its right forepaw, its left forepaw clenched. Its snout is pointed in an exaggerated manner. Smith calls the crouching ape in the second scene a human figure or an ape (p. 172), and the ape in the third scene a hunter (p. 173). Height of vase 6.8 cm. Buschor (p. 223) incorrectly gives the height as 7 cm. Width of main band, 2 cm.; second band, 1 cm.; third band, 0.4 cm.

- 307.** From Paros (stolen from the Museum at Paros during the war).

On a proto-Corinthian lecythus an ape was pictured riding on an ass or a mule, which had paws like a lion. The leonine



paws are probably the vase-painter's jest, cf. the leonine paws on a pig accompanying Hermes on an early red-figured cylix in Vienna, K. Masner, *Die Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terracotten* (Vienna, 1892), pp. 40-41, no. 321, fig. 24; cf. J. D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* (Tuebingen, 1925), p. 52, no. 10.

308. Berlin. Antiquarium. From Pente Skouphia (P. 297). *Ant. Denk.* II (1893-4), pl. 23, 13 a-b. A. Furtwaengler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium: koenigliche Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1896), I. p. 88, no. 816. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 77, note.

A Corinthian pinax, a votive plaque, from the temenos of Poseidon, found near Corinth in 1879. The clay is light yellow, slightly greenish in tinge: on one side is Poseidon with a trident, on the other a man tending an oven. There is a hole in the upper right corner for suspension. In the second scene (*Ant. Denk.*, II, pl. 23, 13 b) is the upper part of the body of a long-tailed monkey turned right; it wears a band around its waist and its thigh is engraved with a spiral. Farther to the right is the upper part of a body of a bearded man, standing higher, probably on a platform by an oven; both his arms are raised, holding a short stick, and on his head is a tight-fitting cap. Above to the left is a very large bird on a small twig. Furtwaengler calls the first figure a bearded man, who holds a long staff with both hands. Payne considers it a monkey, and thinks that a chain is attached to its girdle. It is surely a monkey, and what Furtwaengler calls the staff is its tail; it is so placed that it could not possibly be an extension of a stick in the hands of the monkey. Moreover the body at the point of contact does not have a line to mark it (cf. *Ant. Denk.*, II, pl. 23, 17) or a differentiation in color (cf. *Ant. Denk.*, II, pl. 23, 18 b). The rump does not have the rounded line we find in the drawing of a human figure, but a flatter curve (cf. Aristotle, *H. A.*, II, 8). The size of the shoulders and upper arms is heavy in proportion to the size of the body (which is about the same size as the man in the same picture); presumably this is to allow for the

hair on the body of the animal; the spiral on the monkey's thigh indicates hair, too. The line markings on the head are most unusual, a curved line following the curve of the skull and various other lines; they are dissimilar to the markings on any of the human heads—the closest parallels to them are found on the head of another figure which is probably an ape (*Ant. Denk.*, II, pl. 23, 4 b) and on the head of a minotaur (*Ant. Denk.*, II, pl. 29, 14). The snout is extremely long and much less human than even the crudest human figures on these plaques (e. g. *Ant. Denk.*, I, pl. 8, 20). What Furtwaengler calls a beard may be either a tuft of hair on the monkey's jaw, or may be the painter's way of emphasizing the animal's snout. Very probably the monkey is tied (by a chain falling behind) and bending over imitating an action just completed by the man, or is standing, stooped, as monkeys so often do. For the band around its waist cf. Winter, *Typen*, I, 224, 2, fig. 2; H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum* (London, 1903), B 67. Ht. of pinax, 10 cm.; width, 7 cm. The plaque probably dates from the first quarter of the sixth century (cf. Payne, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-104).

309. Berlin. Antiquarium. From Pente Skouphia (P. 291). *Ant. Denk.*, II (1893-94), pl. 23, 4 a-b. Furtwaengler, *op. cit.*, I, p. 88, no. 817.

A Corinthian pinax of the same style as the preceding. On one side, Poseidon with a trident stands on the left, on the right is the sea and a large dolphin, head up. On the second side a small figure in a red jacket stands upon a scaffold (?) bending over a square mass marked with dots. Furtwaengler calls this figure a man. The proportions and the crouching position are typical of the monkey, but the head is manlike. There is no tail, and the short legs can be matched on another plaque showing a man (cf. *Ant. Denk.*, II, pl. 23, 11). However it may well be an ape, which has escaped on shipboard and has climbed to the rigging with some booty. The structure on which the figure stands resembles a ship's

rigging more than a scaffold, and oblique to the border on the left is a rope ladder.

310. Berlin. Antiquarium. The gift of Prof. Karo.

On a fragment of an early Attic vase an ape is used as a figure to fill in the space under a horse.

311. Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. From Vulci. Mme. S. Lambrino (M. Flot), *C. V. A., Bibliothèque Nationale* (fasc. 1, France, fasc. 7), III, D. pls. 20-22 (with an exhaustive bibliography). A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des vases peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (2 vols., Paris, 1911-12), I, no. 189 (4899) (2707), pp. 98-100 (with a bibliography). Cf. also Luynes, *Annali*, 1833, pp. 56-64. *Mon. Ined.*, I, pl. XLVII. A. Panofka, "Parodien und Karikaturen auf Werken der klassischen Kunst," *Abhandl. der k. Akad. der Wissensch. zu Berlin*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1851, pp. 20-23, pl. III, 3. Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, IX, pl. XX (in color). Puchstein, *Arch. Zeit.*, XXXVIII (1880), pp. 185-186. H. B. Walters, *A History of Ancient Pottery* (New York, 1905), I, pp. 341-343, fig. 92. B. L. Gildersleeve, *Pindar; the Olympian and Pythian Odes* (New York, 1885), p. 312 (figure). F. Studniczka, *Kyrene: eine altgriechische Goettin* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 3, fig. 1. A. Furtwaengler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, III, pl. 151, pp. 211-214. Buschor, *op. cit.*, p. 119, fig. 86. S. Reinach, *Répertoire des vases peints*, I (2nd ed., Paris, 1922), pp. 80-81, no. 2. Droop, *B. S. A.*, XIV (1907-08), pp. 44-45. E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (3 vols., Munich, 1923), I, pp. 225-226; III, fig. 193. P. Ducati, *L'arte classica* (Turin, 1920), pp. 239-241, fig. 235. E. A. Lane, *B. S. A.*, XXXIV (1933-34), pp. 140-141, 161-162, 169.

The scene on the inside of the famous Arcesilas cylix represents the king of Cyrene overseeing the lading of silphium or wool (Lane, pp. 161-162) on a ship. The king sits to the left on a folding chair, receiving a report from one of the workmen; to the right four more are weighing the product. Below three men are stowing it away in the hold of the ship. Above is the sail and the ship's rigging. Below the chair of the king is a panther, behind him a lizard climbs, above are two flying birds and two perched on the rigging of the ship. On the rigging between the two birds an ape squats. Around its neck is a collar; its snout is long; its left arm is on its knee, its right is stretched out. The figure is done in black with a few markings to show details. The

scene is not as Panofka suggested a political caricature poking fun at an unpopular king. The ape is a pet, as the collar shows, just as is the panther under the king's chair. Gildersleeve followed Panofka's suggestion.

This cylix is made of reddish-yellow clay wholly covered with a slip. It was bought at Vulci in 1836 for 1,050 francs. It belongs to a group of cylices which were classed as Cyrenaic by Puchstein. The excavations of the British school at Sparta uncovered much pottery of the same type (cf. Droop, *B. S. A.*, XIV [1907-08], pp. 30-47) which could have been made only at Sparta. Droop assumes that this cylix was made at Sparta (pp. 44-45). For an elaborate bibliography of the question cf. Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 224-232. A recent article by Lane convincingly presents the conclusion that all of this ware is Laconian: E. A. Lane, "Lakonian Vase Painting," *B. S. A.*, XXXIV (1933-34), pp. 99-189, pls. 20-49. Lane concludes that the vase represents Arcesilas II (*ca.* 565-550), dates in Laconian III B, and was made by a Laconian potter who may have visited Cyrene (pp. 161-162). Also he notes that apes were known at this time in Sparta (p. 161, note 8 and p. 169). This seems reasonable except for the date. Lane's date is the one set by Droop in *J. H. S.*, XXX (1910), p. 9. But Droop has since revised the dates for Laconian III and places this cup about 575 and considers the king Arcesilas I (*ca.* 599-583 B. C.): *J. H. S.*, LII (1932), pp. 303-304, where he bases his conclusions on further evidence presented by P. N. Ure, "Droop Cups," *J. H. S.*, LII (1932), pp. 55-71.

Ht. of cylix, 20 cm., diameter at the top, 26 cm.

312. Sparta. From the excavations near the temple of Artemis. Droop, *B. S. A.*, XIV (1907-08), p. 40, pls. III-IV (III in color). Cf. Dugas, "Les Vases cyréniens du Musée de Tarente," *R. Arch.*, XX (1912), p. 101, fig. 2. Droop, "The Laconian Pottery," in *Artemis Orthia*, *J. H. S.*, suppl. vol. V (1929), p. 85, pls. IX-X. Lane, *B. S. A.*, XXXIV (1933-34), pp. 161, 169.

A cylix made of clay covered with a slip, except for two lines on the inner rim. The scene on the inside represents four bearded men running to the right and looking backward.

They have wings attached to both heels, and hence are probably the four winds. Between two of them, a diminutive tree is represented, immediately opposite a small ape sits on a rock, with its forepaws around its knees. It is not bird-headed (as Droop says) but does have an abnormally long snout, and strange, slanting eyes, which are due to the crude work of the painter. The ape here is a burlesque, but has nothing to do with the scene proper. The background is light greenish-buff and the figures are done in black with white lines and red details. This cylix is Laconian (see above). It dates at the end of Laconian III (*ca.* 570 B. C.) for it is the first vase found at Sparta, later than the earlier Geometric age, to show any unslipped clay. Ht. of cylix 10.5 cm., diam. of bowl from 15.5 to 16.8 cm.

313. Paris. Louvre: Galerie Campana (E 696). From Caere (Cervetri) (1863, Inventory Campagna 63). *Cataloghi del Museo Campagna* (Rome, n. d., 1860?), II, no. 32. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre* (Paris, 1897-1922), II, p. 65, E 696. Cf. Pottier, *Catalogue des vases antiques de terre cuite: Musée du Louvre*, III (rev. ed., Paris, 1929), no. 696, pp. 535-536. Helbig, *Annali*, XXXV (1863), p. 210. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1867, p. 67; 1877, p. 268. Foerster, *Annali*, XLI (1869), p. 164. *Mon. Ined.*, VI-VII, pl. LXXVII. Pottier, *B. C. H.*, XVI (1892), p. 254, no. 5. Reinach, *op. cit.*, I, p. 162, 1. A. Dumont and J. Chaplain, *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* (Paris, 1888), p. 265. Duemmler, *Roem. Mitt.*, III (1888), p. 167. Morin-Jean, *Le dessin des animaux en Grèce d'après les vases peints* (Paris, 1911), p. 73, fig. 103. Loewy, "Typenwanderung II," *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.*, XIV (1911), p. 18, fig. 17. Webster, *J. H. S.*, XLVIII (1928), p. 196, no. 5.

A Caeretan hydria (dated *ca.* 550 B. C.) showing on one side the rape of Europa, on the other side a boar-hunt. To the left is a boar which has just torn a dog in half—the head and forelegs are below and the hindlegs above. Two hunters with clubs approach, followed by a woman with a bow. To the right is an ape with knees bent and the right forepaw held out, the index finger extended in mockery. The head of the ape is in profile, the eye is in full-front; the animal is human in proportions and has human feet, and has no tail, but is otherwise apelike. The hair on the body is marked

by thin, short lines. It is about three and a half feet tall in comparison with the human figures. This is probably a caricature of the Calydonian boar hunt; the woman is Atalanta, and the ape who is there shows that it is a comic scene. Cf. the subjects of the paintings on other Caeretan hydriae: e. g. a hydria in Vienna, Heracles and Busiris, Furtwaengler and Reichhold, *op. cit.*, pl. 51; another in the Louvre, E 702, the theft of the cattle of Apollo by Hermes, Pottier, *op. cit.*, III, no. 702, p. 537. The clay is pale yellow, and the painting is black, with a little yellow or red and retouches of white and red. Ht. 4.4 cm.

314. Vienna. Oesterreichisches Museum. Castellani Collection (4594). From Caere (Cervetri). K. Masner, *Die Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terracotten im k. k. oesterreichischen Museum* (Vienna, 1892), no. 218, pl. II. Furtwaengler and Reichhold, *op. cit.*, I, p. 260. Brunn, *Bull. d'Inst.*, 1865, p. 142. Foerster, *Annali*, XLI (1869), p. 165. Duemmler, *Roem. Mitt.*, III (1888), p. 167, no. 7. Webster, *J. H. S.*, XLVIII (1928), p. 196, no. 7. L. von Schroeder, *Griechische Goetter und Heroen* (Berlin, 1887), p. 91. Pottier, *B. C. H.*, XVI (1892), p. 254, no. 7. G. von Luecken, *Greek Vase Paintings* (The Hague, 1923), pls. 62-63. Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, I, p. 180.

A Caeretan hydria showing on one side Hephaestus being led back to Olympus by Dionysus, accompanied by a nymph and a satyr. On the other side, the palmette below the vertical handle of the hydria breaks the field into two scenes of satyrs and maenads. Below the main scene is a band of lotus flowers ending in spirals and divided by palmettes, below is a ray pattern and the lotus flowers, to it is fastened a tiny monkey (*ca.* 2 cm. long). The monkey is creeping along, tied to the band by a red cord. Ht. of vase 41.5 cm. Perimeter 1.04 m.

315. Athens. The National Museum (12677). From Vourva. G. Nicole, *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes: supplément* (Paris, 1911), p. 170, no. 891, pl. X. Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 126, 151; III, fig. 128. A. D. Ure, "Boeotian Orientalizing Lekanai," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, IV (New York, 1932-33), pp. 19, 22-23, no. 2, fig. 3.

On the interior of a shallow plate with two handles, decorated in the black-figured technique, a figure rides upon a lion. The lion has an equine head, and its tail, to fill in the lower

space, comes out of its right side. The figure, seated bare-back, and reining in the lion is no less strange. It has usually been called a man, but I feel certain it is an ape. The fingers of the left hand are long and slim with no indication of a thumb. The overhanging forehead may well represent the band of hair above the eyes which is so noticeable in some guenons (cf. Elliot's descriptions of species in the genus *Lasiopyga*, II, pp. 275-382). The pointed snout is decidedly ape-like. However, the visible leg proves the identification—it is reversed at the knee and ends in a paw with no perceptible heel. Dr. Zahn of the Berlin Museum is in agreement with this interpretation.

This vase (diameter 38 cm.) has on the outside two facing panthers, two facing lions, and two pegasi (under each handle, dividing the other groups). It is classified by Mrs. Ure in the Boeotian "orientalizing" style and dated in the third quarter of the sixth century B. C. (*loc. cit.*, pp. 18-38). In Nicole's plate the riding figure is pictured light, except for the top of the head, the left forepaw from the elbow and the hindpaw from the knee. In Mrs. Ure's figure (from a photograph supplied by Dr. Zahn) it is solid dark, except for light outline lines.

- 316.** Plate III. Athens. National Museum (1054). From the Ceramicus (Athens). M. Collignon and L. Couve, *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes* (Paris, 1902), p. 211, no. 687.

A black-figured cylix without a foot has the inside decorated with a circle in which are the forequarters of a horse. A small ape squats on the shoulders of the horse, and grasps the horse's mane with its forepaws. The ape's shoulders are heavy, its limbs are thin, its snout is long and pointed. The drawing is spirited and vigorous. One handle of the vase is broken. The scene is finished with violet touches. Diameter 16 cm.

- 317.** Canessa Collection. From Capua. G. Nicole, "Corpus des céramistes grecs," *R. Arch.*, IV (1916), p. 381, no. 26. Cf. J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases* (Paris, 1924), p. 136, no. 19.

An unsigned black-figured cylix with no decoration inside

the cup, which is attributed to Hermogenes, has on one side of the outside a monkey and a male outline head (with hair and beard in black), on the other side of the outside is the same (with hair and beard reserved).

318. Rome. The collection of Tomaso Tittoni in his palace on the Via Rasella. From Tragliatella near Caere (Cervetri). Giulio Quirino Giglioli, "L'oinochoe di Tragliatella," *Studi Etruschi*, III (1929), pp. 111-159, pls. XXIII-XXVI (a comprehensive account with complete bibliographical references). Cf. also *Not. Scav.*, 1878, pp. 160-162. Deecke, *Annali*, 1881, p. 160, pls. L-M (design of G. Mariani). Helbig, *Bull. d'Inst.*, 1881, pp. 65-69. A. Dumont and J. Chaplain, *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* (Paris, 1888), p. 269, note 1. O. Benndorf, *Sitzungsberichte der k. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Wien, phil.-hist. Classe*, CXXIII, III (1891), pp. 47-50, fig. 1. Helbig, *Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, XXXVIII, 2 (1906), pp. 267-268. A. Grenier, *Bologne villanovienne et étrusque* (Paris, 1912), p. 392. S. Reinach, *Répertoire des vases peints*, I (2nd ed., Paris, 1922), p. 345. J. Toutain in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, V (Paris, 1916-24), p. 496, fig. 7102, s. v. *Troia, Troiae ludus*. K. Schneider in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, XIII (Stuttgart, 1927), cols. 2059-2060, s. v. *Lusus Troiae*. A. von Salis, *Theseus und Ariadne* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1930), pp. 23-24, 42, fig. 21. Anna Roes, *Greek Geometric Art* (Haarlem and Oxford, 1933), pp. 85-86.

This squat and irregular oenochoe is decorated with two important scenes and several minor items. The scene on the neck of the vase shows (from left to right) a nude man leading a wild goat; two birds; a man and woman meeting; and under the handle a ship and a wild goat in a vertical position (Giglioli, pls. XXIII-V and XXXVI, a). Below this scene are panels with formal animal-heads. The main band on the belly of the vase shows (from left to right) a very elaborate scene. A woman in a long, sleeveless garment faces to the right and holds out a round object in her left hand to a warrior facing her. The warrior, nude except for a loin cloth, holds a smaller round object in his left hand and has his right hand on the shoulder of a girl, dressed like the woman and facing her (pl. XXIII). Behind the warrior and facing in the same direction are seven warriors carrying three spears each and a shield with the device of the forequarters of a boar, and a nude warrior carrying a huge club (pls. XXV



and XXVI, b). Next a mounted soldier carries a shield with the device of the forequarters of an animal with bird-like head; on the rump of his elongated horse squats a large ape, drawn in profile with knees drawn up and left forepaw clutching its master's shield, with its head marked by a huge eye in full-front. The ape is almost as large as its master, who is in turn smaller than the foot-soldiers—this inconsistency is probably due to isocephaly (pls. XXIV; XXV, b; and XXVI, c). Toutain (p. 496, note 9) has suggested that the ape is not really placed on the horse, but is a space-filler. This probably correct although it is not borne out by the design of the rest of vase (cf. Giglioli, p. 123). Helbig suggests that the ape is a caricature of the attendant of a mounted hoplite (*Mém. de l'acad.*, XXXVIII, 2 [1906], pp. 267-268, cf. Giglioli, pp. 122-123, who objects to this interpretation), which is a possible, but not a necessary explanation. Next is another mounted soldier carrying a long spear and a shield with a device which seems to be a duck. Then there is a rounded labyrinth labelled T R U I A, two erotic groups and a woman looking at the erotic groups (pls. XXIII-IV, XXV, c). On a narrow band below the main scene a hound and hare are shown, and on the handle is a snake.

There has been much discussion of the meaning and antecedents of these scenes, particularly the main scene. There are four inscriptions, the one already mentioned and three beside the first three figures in the main scene. The inscription attached to the middle figure has been reported (by Deecke) as *mi velenā*, i. e. *haec est Helena*, but the reading is *mi/veleli/a* (Giglioli, p. 118) and surely is the name of an Etruscan girl (cf. Fiesel in Roscher, *Lexikon*, VII [Leipzig, 1925], col. 177, s. v. *Velenā*). It seems best to follow Giglioli and assume that the first three figures in the main scene represent an Etruscan warrior, his wife and daughter. There is a complete discussion of the inscriptions by Giglioli, pp. 118-122. The scenes are probably all Etruscan scenes, the warrior scenes being apparently some version of a military review, connected with the famous *lusus Troiae*, which Schnei-

der considered of Italian or Etruscan origin. However the artistic backgrounds are Greek, for the vase is a local imitation of sixth century Corinthian ware. The vase dates about 500 B. C. Professor von Salis thinks that the Etruscan artist was influenced by an original vase showing the scene of Theseus and Ariadne. Under this interpretation the first three figures in the main scene would be Ariadne presenting the ball of twine to Theseus in the presence of her nurse (represented as half-size). This view seems improbable, as does Roes' view that the whole represents a celebration of the solar deity, and that the ape is present as an attribute of that deity.

Height of vase with handle, 24 cm.; diameter of the mouth-aperture, 9 cm. The vase is perfectly preserved. Fine yellowish clay, the outside is scaly with remnants of brownish-violet and dark red varnish.

319. Paris, Louvre (G 241). From Etruria (1863. Inv. Campana 3477). *Cataloghi del Museo Campagna* (Rome, n. d., 1860?), IX-X, no. 120. Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, I, 1 (Paris, 1877), p. 693, fig. 830, s. v. *Bestiae mansuetae*. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 18, note 148. E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, III (Paris, 1922), p. 213, G 241, pl. 132. E. Pottier, *Catalogue des vases antiques de terre cuite*, III (rev. ed., Paris, 1929), p. 1028.

A very small oenochoe with rounded lip and reddish clay surface is all black except space reserved for a scene in the front of the vase, and a palmette at the base of the handle. It is red-figured Attic of the first part of the fifth century. The scene in the front of the vase (set on a band of meander pattern) shows an ephebus clad in a cloak (right arm bare and right hand on hip), leaning on a staff. He has a fillet around his head, and holds an apple in front of him with his left hand. His body is in front view, head in profile (eye full view). An ape-headed figure about two-thirds the height of the ephebus reaches out with his left hand to the apple. Cougny and Saglio (Daremberg and Saglio, *loc. cit.*) incorrectly call this a fourth century vase. Keller with little justification thinks it is a chimpanzee. Pottier rejects the suggestion in the *Cataloghi Campagna* that the second figure is

a caricature of a boy loved by the ephebus, but the presence of the apple makes the conjecture quite plausible. Ht. 13 cm.

320. London. British Museum (E 171). From Camirus (1864, tomb F 236). H. B. Walters and E. J. Forsdyke, *C. V. A., British Museum* (fasc. 5, Great Britain, fasc. 7, 1930), III, I, c, pl. 75, 3; 76, 2. C. Smith, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, III (London, 1896), E 171, p. 155. Cf. Engelmann, *Annali*, 1878, p. 286, pl. p. Keller, *Thiere*, pp. 2, 146. J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1919), I, p. 470, no. 9. P. Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blütezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1893), p. 443, note 1. J. D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* (Tuebingen, 1925), p. 245, no. 38. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), p. 121, no. 25. Reinach, *op. cit.*, I, p. 341. Engelmann, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XXVI (1911), p. 159, note 1. *A. J. A.*, XXI (1917), p. 41.

An Attic red-figured hydria, which is decorated around the top of the shoulder with a scene from school. In the center the music instructor is seated in a chair playing on a lyre and singing; four notes represented by circles issue from his mouth. A youth sits on a stool facing him and playing a flute; four other students are grouped in the picture. One of them is holding a plectrum to a cat, another holds a flute, a third is playing one, a fourth is seated and beside him is a seated dog. Beside the first student is an ape squatting on the floor. It wears a fillet, and has bracelets and bangles around its ankles. The drawing is good and graceful throughout. The wreaths, fillets and inscriptions are purple; the hair of the ephebus with the cat, the hair of the ape, the dots at the edge of the hair and of the eyes, are brown. Hartwig assigns this to the "Artist with the bald head," but Hoppin's and Beazley's attribution to the Girgenti Calyx Krater Painter is correct. In the *C. V. A.* the identification of the squatting figure as an ape is accepted. Keller made that suggestion. Smith called it a "boy (monkey)"; Hoppin a monkey. The length of the arms and the shortness of the legs as well as the crouching posture mark it as an ape. The identification as a boy by Smith was due to the treatment of the skin, the face and the hair, which resemble those of a badly drawn boy.

This is a good example of the use of an ape as a household pet, especially as it occurs in the same picture with a dog and a cat. Ht. 30.8 cm.

321. London. British Museum (E 307). From Capua. From the Castellani Collection, 1873. Walters and Forsdyke, *op. cit.*, III, I, c. pl. 55, a, p. b. Smith, *op. cit.*, III, p. 221, E 307. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 2.

An Attic red-figured amphora of the fine style, done with the "Nolan" technique of isolated figures on a dark background. On one side is a wreathed and bearded man, below him a key pattern. On the other side on a strip of meander a woman stands on the left facing an ape which sits on a high box. The woman wears a long bordered chiton, and has the upper part of her body, her arms and head (except the eyes and forehead) wrapped in a mantle. The ape has its left knee raised, its right leg hanging over the edge of the box. It holds a fillet in its right forepaw. The paws and the front of the legs are smooth, the hollows of the eyes and ears are shaded in thinned black, the skin is marked with brown spots, a purple fillet is around its head. The surface of the amphora has been discolored by fire. Ht. 36.8 cm. Fifth century.

322. Berlin. Antiquarium (297) From the Castellani Collection (1884). A. Furtwaengler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* (Berlin, 1896), II, p. 997, no. 3912.

A geometric Apulian amphora of bright red clay, covered with a yellowish slip, reddish-brown paint with engraving on the inside of the mouth. A continuous band around the shoulder has a horse race, in which five young men participate as riders. The open space is filled with animals. Behind the third horse squats an ape which stretches out its arm, fingers widespread, toward a blotch which may represent the falling dung of the horse. The drawing is primitive and childish (fifth century). Ht. of amphora 29 cm.; diameter 35 cm.

323. London. British Museum. (E 740, old no. 962). Hamilton Collection. Smith, *op. cit.*, III, p. 359, E 740.

An ascus of the regular shape, oval with a spout at one end and a handle from the spout to the other end of the vase. On each side an ape on all fours crawls toward the spout, the one moving to the left holds a club in its right forepaw. The vase is red-figured (late fifth century) with coarse and inaccurate drawing. Ht. 6.3 cm.

324. Plate IV, 1. Heidelberg. Collection of the Archaeological Institute of the University of Heidelberg (Inv. S 155). From the Cabirium near Thebes (purchased in Athens by Dr. Robert Zahn). To be included in the volume on Cabiric ware prepared by the late Professor P. Wolters.

A fragment of a large black-figured bowl has on its outer side the representation of an ape. The inner side is glazed with black. A part of the rim of the vase is preserved; a broad band of black glaze encircled the vase on the upper part of the outside. On the light clay background immediately below the rim is the representation of the ape. The animal facing to the right is painted with black glaze, with details in white. Only the head and forequarters are preserved. The forehead is low, there is a deep indentation between the forehead and the flat nostrils. The eyebrows, eye, cheek-lines and nostrils are marked by white lines. The neck is extremely thick and the shoulders are very heavy. Further white lines mark the hair on the body. The animal is expressing some violent emotion: the hair on the head, the back of the neck, and the back, seems to stand on end, and the mouth is wide open to emit a shriek. The shape of the head and the massive shoulders mark it as an anthropoid ape. Dr. Zahn suggested in a letter that it represents a gorilla, but it seems to be a chimpanzee rather than a gorilla. The figure is one eminently suitable for a scene on one of the Cabiric vases, which contain much conscious caricature. Ht. of sherd 8.5 cm.

325. Catania. The Biscari Museum. Probably from Magna Graecia. P. F. H. d'Hancarville, *The Collection of Etruscan, Greek, and Roman Antiquities from the Cabinet of the Hon. Wm. Hamilton* (Naples, 1766-7), III, p. 88 (64). Chr. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* (Regimontii Prussorum, 1829), II, p. 1300. Karl Ottfried Mueller, *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* (translated by Trefnell and Lewis, 2 vols., Oxford, 1830), I, pp. 463-464. M. Raoul-Rochette, *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* (Paris, 1833), p. 85, note 5; p. 418. Serradifalco, *Le antichità della Sicilia* (Palermo, 1834), II, p. 1 (vignette). O. Jahn, *Archaeologische Beitræge* (Berlin, 1847), p. 436. Panofka, "Parodie d'Antigone," *Annali*, XIX (1847), p. 221. Fr. Wieseler, *Theatergebäude und Denkmäler des Bühnenwesens bei den Griechen und Römern* (Goettingen, 1851), pp. 56-57, pl. IX, 9. Th. Schreiber, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities* (Eng. ed., W. C. F. Anderson, London and New York, 1895), pl. V, 2 (omits the phalli). Heydemann, "Phylakendarstellungen," *Jb. Arch. I.*, I (1886), pp. 280-281, no. 10. Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, I, 1 (Paris, 1877), p. 694, notes 121-122, s. v. *Bestiae mansuetæ*.

On a fourth century amphora is the comic representation of Hercules bringing back the Cercopes to Eurystheus. King Eurystheus sits facing left on a chair, holding in his left hand a long sceptre, holding out his right hand to the approaching Hercules. Eurystheus is clothed in the typical comic garments: breeches and a tunic with sleeves to the wrists, trousers to the ankles, puffed belly, phallus hanging over the side of the chair. He is bearded, with the huge grotesque lips of the comic mask, and wears on his head a small mural crown with a band tied at the back. In the left of the picture the hero approaches Eurystheus. Dressed as Eurystheus is, he uses his club in his right hand as a walking stick, has a lion skin cap, and carries two large baskets made like bird cages slung over his left shoulder on his bow. In the baskets the Cercopes, instead of being represented as nude men, are apes. The one to the left holds onto the bars of its cage with all four paws, its phallus hangs down. Neither animal is completely simian. Lobeck thought they might be pygmies. Mueller suggested that the story of Hercules and the Cercopes told in a ludicrous epic assigned to Homer is the basis of this parody. In the middle of the scene is a small altar and above it a bucranium, decked with a garland. This vase is one of a group giving comic scenes. They come

usually from Southern Italy (especially Paestum) and represent the *φλύακες* or fourth century farces: cf. H. B. Walters, *A History of Ancient Pottery* (New York, 1905), II, pp. 160-162.

326. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 1, note 4 (the reference to Stephani in this note is incorrect).

On a sherd Heracles is pictured capturing an ape.

## 2. Vases decorated with relief (327-352).

327. Tarquinii (Corneto). Museo municipale. From the Bocchoris tomb at Tarquinii. W. Helbig, *Not. Scav.*, 1896, pp. 17-18. E. Schiaparelli, *Mon. Ant.*, VIII (1898), cols. 89-100, pls. II-IV. O. Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, II, 2 (Stockholm, 1904), pl. 295, 14. G. Karo, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLV (1920), pp. 108-109, pl. opposite p. 108 (Alinari photograph no. 26046), fig. 1, no. 14 (i. e. Montelius, pl. 295, 14). D. Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 162-163, pl. 31, 10. P. Ducati, *Storia dell'arte etrusca* (Florence, 1927), I, p. 346, note 14; II, pl. 28, fig. 94. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 381, note 1.

This famous vase was found on April 3, 1895. It is an encrusted enamel vase with Egyptian scenes. Flat-bottomed it gradually widens up to the shoulder and then sharply curves into the lip. Four bands in relief are used as ornamentation. Next to the top band the widest scene is cut by the cartouche of Bokenranef (718-712 B. C.), of the twenty-fourth Dynasty (called Bocchoris by the Greeks). From left to right the figures in the scene are as follows: the goddess Neit stands facing right holding an ankh in each hand; the Pharaoh facing left; hawk-headed Horus facing right holding a sceptre in his right hand and an ankh in his left; Horus looking back and holding Pharaoh with his left hand; Pharaoh; ibis-headed Thoth holding Pharaoh with his right hand and an ankh with his left. In front of Neit is a table with offerings, and above the second group of figures two hawks hold the symbol of eternity. The cartouche reads, "Uah-kara / son of the sun / Bokenranef / dispenser of life / forever." The middle scene, which is about half as wide, has the following figures: four negro captives in various posi-

tions; three monkeys. The first monkey stands balanced on one foot and holds a piece of fruit that it seems to have just plucked from a tree, the third squats and eats some fruit. All three animals are well-portrayed but disproportionately large (about two-thirds the size of the negroes). They have long tails, dog-like snouts and ruffs on the face. In all but size they represent Ethiopian monkeys, not dog-headed baboons. The top and bottom bands are formalized decoration. There were originally two handles. Ht. of the vase 28 cm.; approximate width of the main scenes 7 and 13 cm.

Bokenranef was captured in 712 and burned alive by Shabaka, the Ethiopian Pharaoh of the twenty-fifth dynasty at Napata. This vase presumably marks the (hoped-for) victory over Shabaka. In the main scene Neit, the patron deity of Sais, is present, and in the subordinate scene the monkeys and negroes represent captives and spoils. Thus the vase could not have been made after 712. The tomb then surely dates within the next twenty years. Randall-MacIver suggests 700 B. C. (pp. 194, 229-230). The question about its origin then arises. It was either of Egyptian manufacture (Karo and Randall-MacIver) or a Phoenician imitation (Schiaparelli and Bonacelli). The latter idea seems somewhat more likely. The combination of sacred and profane scenes, the lack of variety in the Ethiopian scene, the simplicity of the inscription, and the Assyrian cast of the negroes seem to point to this (cf. Schiaparelli, cols. 95-99). Schiaparelli's further conclusion that an elaborate vase was sent as a present to Bokenranef, of which this is a copy for trade-channels, has nothing illogical in it (col. 100). There have been several forged copies of this vase (at Bonn and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania)—perhaps made by Angelo Scappini—G. Karo, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLV (1920), pp. 155-156; E. H. Dohan, *A. J. A.*, XXXVIII (1934), p. 185. Randall-MacIver dated this Pharaoh earlier (734-728), but cf. H. R. Hall in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, III (1925), pp. 276-277.



328. London. British Museum. From the Tomb of Isis at Polledrara near Vulci. Ducati, *op. cit.*, I, p. 115; II, pl. 29, fig. 97. G. Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (2nd ed., London, 1878), I, pp. 457-458.

A flask of enamelled clay. The body is rounded, the two handles at the side of the mouth end in two apes' heads, the details of which are marked in black. It is very similar to an Egyptian vase in Poland; K. Bulas, *C. V. A., Goluchów: Musée Czartoryski* (fasc. 1, Poland, fasc. 1), I, B, pl. 2, 6 a-b. Egyptian work of Saite period, end of seventh century: cf. G. Maspero, *Manual of Egyptian Archaeology* (sixth ed., tr. by A. S. Johns, New York, 1913), pp. 301-302, fig. 263. This tomb contained a porcelain scarab with a cartouche of Psamatik I (ca. 663-609), cf. Gigliogli, *Studi Etruschi*, III (1929), p. 135.

329. Rome. Museo Preistorico. From the Bernardini tomb at Praeneste (Palestrina). *Mon. Ined.*, X (1874-78), pl. XXXI, 1, 1 a. Helbig, *Bull. d'Inst.*, VI (1876), pp. 126-128. Idem, *Annali*, XLVIII (1876), p. 226. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, "La coupe phénicienne de Palestrina," *Journal asiatique*, sér. 7, XI (1878), pp. 232-270, 444-544 (reprinted, with 8 plates as *L'imagerie phénicienne*, part I, Paris, 1880). J. Martha, *L'archéologie étrusque et romaine* (Paris, 1884), pp. 30-32, fig. 9. A. Dumont and J. Chaplain, *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* (Paris, 1888), pp. 123-124, no. 44. O. Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, II, 2 (Stockholm, 1904), pl. 338, 1-5. Fr. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die fruehgriechische Kunst* (Berlin, 1912), pp. 24-25, fig. 14. W. Helbig and others, *Fuehrer durch die Sammlungen in Rom*, II (3rd ed., Rome, 1913), pp. 260-262, no. 1574 (with a bibliography). S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du nord*, I (Paris, 1914), pp. 508-509. C. Densmore Curtis, "The Bernardini Tomb," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, III (1919), pp. 9-90, pls. 1-71 (pp. 38-43, no. 25, pls. 20-21 deal with this cup; the notes on these pages give some additional bibliography). P. Ducati, *L'arte classica* (Turin, 1920), pp. 134-136, fig. 123. D. Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Oxford, 1924), p. 212, pl. 39, no. 2; p. 262, no. 25. P. Ducati, *Storia dell'arte etrusca* (Florence, 1927), I, pp. 116-117 (with a bibliography), II, pl. 29, fig. 98. M. Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World* (translated from the Russian by J. D. Duff, Oxford, 1926-27), I, p. 130, pl. XLI, 3. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 381. M. P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (London, 1933), pp. 134-135, fig. 36.

This shallow silver bowl was found in 1876 in the famous Bernardini tomb (for the tomb cf. Curtis, pp. 12-17; the

bowl was found near the spot marked *k* on a plan given by Curtis, p. 13, fig. 1). The bowl is covered by a sheet of gold on the inside and is decorated by a central medallion, surrounded by two concentric bands of relief. The medallion represents, above an Egyptian male figure (Pharaoh?) who has bound one enemy and is conquering another with the help of a dog, below a dog seizing a retreating man by the heel. The first frieze, separated from the medallion and from the outer relief by two circles of raised dots, represents a procession of eight horses moving from the left to the right. The spaces above the horses are decorated by sixteen flying birds. The second frieze, which is separated from the undecorated rim of the bowl by a serpent in relief, contains the main scene.

The main scene is elaborate and the interpretations given have differed considerably. The first adequate treatment was the elaborate and minute examination of the scene by Clermont-Ganneau (pp. 247-270) who showed conclusively that the band represents a series of nine scenes with the same figures re-appearing. However, in certain scenes the interpretation has been much improved by Curtis whom I follow in the main. 1. A hunter who wears semi-oriental dress is driven out of a walled city by a female chariot driver. For a possible identification of the hunter cf. the discussion below of a similar bowl in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. We may assume that this departure occurs in the morning. 2. The hunter has roused a stag which leaps from the top of a rocky hill. 3. The hunter has climbed the hill and mortally wounded the stag. 4. The chariot driver has unharnessed and is feeding the horses, while the hunter cuts up the deer. 5. The hunter seated on a stool is about to dine. On a stand in front of him is a dish of venison, on another a bowl of wine. Above is a winged sun-disc watching over the feast. From a cave in the side of a hill a gorilla reaches out to steal the meat. This scene presumably is the midday meal. 6. The gorilla has now come out of the cave and holds in its right forepaw a purloined bowl of wine, in its left a branch of a tree. The older interpretation that the animal is attacking by throwing a rock is

incorrect. The hunter notices the theft and invokes the aid of his god. This deity, pictured with broad wings and face in full view, carries the hunter and his chariot in pursuit of the gorilla. This view, following Curtis, is more probable than the older view that the deity is preserving the hunter from the animal. 7. The hunter in his chariot, again on the ground, pursues the gorilla, which stumbles and falls in its flight. 8. The hunter now dismounted dispatches the animal with his axe. 9. The hunter returns to the city in the evening.

In scenes 5-8 I have called the object of the hunter's pursuit a gorilla, an identification which is by no means generally accepted. In scene five we see only the forequarters of the animal. It seems to be reaching out toward the stand holding the meat, but the details are indistinct. In scene six it stands upright facing to the left. The left arm is raised in the air, the shoulders are turned full-front. The body is of massive proportions. The animal is taller than the charioteer, shorter than the hunter. If we assume six feet as the height of the hunter, the animal is about five feet, ten inches. But in bulk it is approximately three times the size of the hunter, who is however thin, almost emaciated. The whole body of the beast is marked by hair, in much the same way as the dogs in the central medallion and the stag in the early scenes. It stands with some difficulty, giving the impression of having risen from all-fours. It has no tail. The hindpaws are semi-human, the forepaws have extremely long digits. The head is oversized with low forehead, a blunt, but protruding snout and a heavy beard. The legs and arms are fairly human in length. In scenes seven and eight the characteristics are in general the same, except that the animal is on the ground—in scene seven under the hooves of the horses, in scene eight under the foot of the hunter. It is obvious from this description that this is not a perfectly lifelike depiction of a gorilla. The arms are too short, the legs are too long and well-formed, the head is too large, the beard and hindpaws are too human. None the less the complete hairiness of the body, the massive size, the forepaws, and most of all the general appearance

point to the gorilla. The habits of the gorilla are even yet somewhat uncertain, but the isolated dwelling among rocks at a hill bottom is possible for a gorilla. We must not expect too much accuracy from the artist, since the very nature of the animal precludes an absolutely accurate knowledge. One final point—the killing of one animal (the stag) in the morning would be nicely balanced by the killing of another and more dangerous animal (the gorilla) in the afternoon.

The figure has been variously identified. Helbig (*Bull. d'Inst.*, VI [1876], pp. 126-128) tentatively identified it as a dog-headed baboon (*Papio hamadryas*, Elliot, 275). But on the advice of a naturalist, M. Boll, decided in favor of a Mandrill (*Papio sphinx*, Elliot 279). The shortness of the arms is unlike the anthropoid apes, but the resemblance of the animal's head to the head of a dog which M. Boll noted, simply does not exist (*Annali*, XLVIII [1876], p. 226). The upright position in scene six is most unlike that of a baboon. The size of the animal is against this identification. Therefore the animal cannot be a baboon. Clermont-Ganneau discussed this matter at length and came to the conclusion that the figure was a cave-dwelling anthropoid ape—probably a gorilla (pp. 452-456). It is not necessarily troglodytic, but may have been hiding in the cave. That this is the prototype of the Greek satyr is impossible (p. 453). Poulsen speaks of the animal in scene six as a figure of Bes, in scenes seven and eight as a bestial monster (p. 25). The size of the animal immediately precludes any possibility that it might be Bes. Curtis calls it a monster (pp. 41-42). Dr. Robert Zahn informed me in private correspondence that he considers it a gorilla.

The main scene is so similar to that of a bowl from Cyprian Curium in the Metropolitan Museum of Art that they probably came from the same workshop (see below). The medallion of the Curium bowl is the same as that of another bowl from the Bernardini tomb (Curtis, pp. 43-45, no. 26, pls. 22-23). The scenes are a mixture of Assyrian and Egyptian designs—they were probably made in Cyprus or Phoenicia. Curtis

(pp. 15-16) dates the tomb in the first half of the seventh century, Randall-MacIver (*The Etruscans*, Oxford, 1927, p. 29) dates it at about 670 B. C. Hence the bowl itself would be early seventh century or late eighth century work (cf. Nilsson, *loc. cit.*).

Diameter of the bowl, 19 cm.; height of the bowl, *ca.* 3.4 cm.; diameter of the medallion, *ca.* 5 cm.; width of the outer band, *ca.* 2.7 cm.

330. New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Cesnola Collection (4556 in the Jewelry Room). From Curium. A. Marquand, "A Silver Patera from Kourion," *A. J. A.*, III (1887), pp. 322-337, pl. XXX. J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection* (New York, 1914), pp. 463-464, no. 4556 (with a plate). Curtis, *loc. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

This bowl from Cyprus is fragmentary and in bad condition. Although there are no traces, it may have originally been plated with gold on the inside. Above the close similarity to two bowls from the Bernardini tomb has been pointed out. The differences in the second part of the outside band will be noted. The gorilla, holding the bowl, is just coming from the cave in the hill instead of standing in front of it. When the king is attacking, the gorilla is not crouching but has its forepaws down on another mound. In the next scene the gorilla has its arms bound. As a whole the scene is less lifelike and less vigorous. Marquand (pp. 332-333) thinks that this is not a gorilla, but a hairy troglodyte, and compares it with the more accurate representations of other species of apes. Marquand attempts the identification of the king; his conjecture that it is Cinyras, the mythical king of Cyprus, is quite plausible (p. 335). Phoenician-Cypriote work, early seventh century or late eighth century. Diameter of the bowl 21 cm., ht. 3.8 cm., width of outside band 2.5 cm.

331. Bologna. Museo Civico. From the Sant'Isaia cemetery of the Arnoaldi Veli excavations. Conte Giovanni Gozzadini, *Intorno agli scavi archeologici fatti dal Sign. A. Arnoaldi Veli presso Bologna* (Bologna, 1877), p. 15, pl. VI, fig. 18. O. Montelius, *Civilisation primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des métaux*, I (Stockholm, 1895), pl. 84, fig. 24. Petersen, *B. Pal. It.*, XXIII (1897), p. 84, note 19. Ghirardini, *B. Pal. It.*, XXIII (1897), p. 135, note 1.

A clay sherd is stamped with the figure of an ape. The ape

squats with its right forepaw held up with the paw closed, and its left along the body. The snout is fairly pointed, the nose, eyes and digits of the forepaws are marked. The body is egg-shaped and out of proportion with the extremities. Both in size and details the ape stamped on this sherd is similar to the ape stamped on the following vase. They date from about 600 B. C. in the middle of the Arnoaldi Period, cf. D. Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 35-38. Ht. of the sherd 2.7 cm., width 1.8 cm.; ht. of the figure 1.3 cm.; width 0.9 cm.

332. Bologna. Museo Civico. From the Sant'Isaia cemetery of the Arnoaldi Veli excavations. Gozzadini, *op. cit.*, p. 15, pl. I, fig. 1. Montelius, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 85, fig. 4. Ghirardini, *loc. cit.* D. Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 34, pl. 9, fig. 5.

A partly broken, unpainted, clay ossuary vase is decorated with stamped designs repeated in six bands. The blunted, conical bottom narrows in the middle, then widens to the rim. The stamped bands consist of the repetition of the following figures: lowest band, a reversed S on its side; a six-pointed outline star in a circle; a harp containing a six-pointed star; a figure resembling the head of a tulip; the figure of an ape; highest band, the figure of a swan. The approximate number of stamped figures in the bands is 28, 28, 18, 18, 36, 18 (i. e. there were probably 36 ape-figures on the complete vase). Ht. of vase 28 cm.; ht. of ape-figure, 1.3 cm., width, 0.9 cm.

333. From Olbia on the north shore of the Black Sea. Pharkowsky, *Arch. Anz.*, XXVIII (1913), col. 200, fig. 42.

An elaborate alabaster vase, which consists of a bowl on a pedestal. On the lid of the bowl in the center two carved apes sit back to back, and hold round objects which may be heads. Egyptian influence. Second half of sixth century B. C.

334. London. British Museum. From the Artemisium at Ephesus. D. G. Hogarth, *The Excavations at Ephesus, the Archaic Artemisia* (London, 1908), p. 208, pl. XLIV, 7.

Fragments representing about half an aryballus in pale blue faience ware with a zone of incised figure subjects. One

is a squatting ape with a long tail holding a small monkey. Sixth century.

- 335.** Plate IV, 2. New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (II, 1110). Cesnola Collection (no. 773). From Cyprus. Myres, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101, no. 773.

A wheel-made cylix with high ribbon handles. One side of the bowl is modelled into the face of an ape with large ears each perforated three times. The features were indicated by remodelling the bowl and by black paint. The eyes are dots surrounded by circles, the eyebrows are marked by a series of dots, there are two dots for the nostrils and the mouth has a line of color. Except for the modelled face and the bottom of the bowl, which are buff, the vase is covered with black. The clay is greenish gray. Greco-Phoenician work. Seventh century. Ht. 193.1 cm.

- 336.** London. British Museum (H 176). Bequeathed by Lewis Blacker (1886). H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, I, II (London, 1912), pp. 238-239, H 176, fig. 368, a-b.

A clay cyathus made in imitation of metal with a slight molding on the lip and a crudely incised design. On one side is a nude woman facing left, knees bent, arms extended, at whom an armed man facing left is pointing a spear. On the other side a monkey is squatting to right, looking to front. It holds large, round pieces of fruit in each forepaw, its features are carefully marked, and short lines mark the hair on its body. Etruscan bucchero ware of the early sixth century. Ht. of cyathus 10.8 cm.; diameter at mouth 9.8 cm.

- 337.** Berlin. Antiquarium. From Attica. A. Furtwaengler, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff, Kunstdenkmäler aus Griechenland* (Berlin, 1883-87), I, pl. LXV (heading). A. Furtwaengler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* (Berlin, 1896), II, no. 4050. Buschor, *Muen. Jb. Bild. K.*, I/II (1919), p. 10. Beazley, *J. H. S.*, XXIX (1927-28), pp. 208, 213-214.

A curiously shaped vase was modelled with the face of an ape on each side. The eyes, ears and snout of each face are carefully modelled. The snouts are blunt and there is a curious difference between the two faces, one seems to be

smiling, the other frowning. The eyes of the apes and the mouth of the vase are done in black glaze, the rest of the vase is in the natural red clay. There is a lecythus spout at the top and a crude knob at the bottom. Second half of the fifth century. Ht. 9.5 cm.

338. Istanbul. Museum of Antiquities (formerly in the Museum of Saint Irene). From Lampsacus. A. Sorlin-Dougny, *Gazette archéologique*, III (1877), pp. 119-122, 215-216, pl. 19. Graeven, "Die Darstellungen der Inder in antiken Kunstwerken," *Jb. Arch. I.*, XV (1900), pp. 202-205, fig. 6. S. Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs grecs et romains*, II (Paris, 1912), p. 174. 1. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1926), p. 126, pl. XVII, fig. 1. E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 143, the frontispiece to part II, opp. p. 143, p. 147.

On a beautiful shallow silver dish decorated with black and gold enamel is a representation of India as a woman. The scene is set within a raised rim. In the center India sits on a chair supported with elephant tusks. She wears a crown, a collar, a bracelet on each arm, sandals and a draped robe which covers her to her ankles but leaves her right breast and both arms bare. In her left hand she holds an unstrung bow, and her right hand is raised. On a level with her arms to her right is an Alexandrine parakeet, to her left an African guinea-fowl. On the ground level on each side of her chair is a tame monkey wearing a collar. They are probably meant to represent Hanuman langurs (*Pygathrix entellus*, Elliot, 501). The monkeys are standing on all fours toward the chair, but facing front. The long thin tails and the long slim hind legs mark the animals as Indian monkeys despite the fact the heads are dog-like. Sorlin-Dougny's idea that the woman was an Asiatic Artemis, that the bird to her right is a sparrow-hawk and that the animals to each side of the chair are hunting dogs, may be discarded. In the space below the ground level two keepers hold in leash a leopard and a tiger.

The dish is silver, ornamented with gilt, gold inlay and enamel. The flesh of the woman and the two animal trainers,



the body of the guinea fowl and outlines in the drawing are black; the garments, the chair and the ornaments are gold. Graeven assigns it to the Byzantine period, Rostovtzeff to the second or third century A. D., Warmington to the first or second century A. D. The last date is the most likely. Rostovtzeff thinks it may be Greco-Indian or Alexandrian work, but Warmington convincingly shows that it was most probably the work of an Asiatic Greek artist, because of the erroneous inclusion of the African guinea-fowl with the Indian animals, and because after the discovery of the use of the south-west monsoon in the first century A. D. animals were the only important commodity still restricted to the land-routes and hence would particularly impress a Greek artist of Asia Minor (cf. pp. 146-147).

339. Cologne. Collection of C. A. Niessen. S. Loeschke, *Beschreibung roemischer Altertuemer gesammelt von C. A. Niessen* (Cologne, 1911), I, p. 82, no. 1689; II, pl. LXI.

A cylindrical bowl of reddish clay is decorated in relief by a band of pictures alternating with decorative patterns. The eight pictures are alternately: an ape squatting to the right with right forepaw on its knee, its left raised; and a hare to the left. Ht. of bowl 8 cm. Gallo-Roman work.

340. London. British Museum (M 1434). Roach Smith Collection (1856). From London. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the British Museum* (London, 1908), M 1434.

A fragment of a hemispherical bowl decorated with molded frieze work and fine glaze. The first panel of the lower frieze shows an ape to the right and parts of three indistinct animals. It is ware from Lezoux dating from the early part of the second century A. D. Ht. 4.5 cm.

341. Cologne. Wallraf-Richartz Museum. From Cologne. A. C. Kisa-Godesberg, *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk*, VIII (Vienna, 1905), pp. 596-605 (figure on p. 603: there is a bibliography of similar representations of Orpheus). Drexel, *Bonn. Jb.*, CXVIII (1909), pp. 221-223, fig. 6. A. Grenier, *Quatre villes romaines de la Rhénanie* (Paris, 1925), p. 150. Fr. Drexel and M. Bersu, *Germania Romana*, V (2nd ed., Bamberg, 1930), pl. XXIV, 1.

A red clay cup in the form of part of a sphere has on the

inside a relief finished with fine glaze. In the middle of the scene Orpheus clad in oriental garb sits on a rock in the shade of a tree, his left hand leans upon his lyre, which rests on a basis. Around him arranged in nine rows are more than fifty animals. These animals are of two groups, first of Asia Minor type, and second, Egyptian animals. A characteristic difference is that the first type is arranged in groups, either friendly or hostile, but the second type is arranged singly, not in groups, as if in attendance on Orpheus. The ape squats in the fourth band from the top, the sixth from the bottom, immediately over Orpheus' lyre, and parodies Orpheus. It is playing a reed pipe. It was found at Cologne in June 1887 with some third and fourth century glass, but may date as early as the end of the second century. Diameter 21.5 cm.

342. Trier. Provincial Museum (33, 504). From the Horst-Wessel-Ufer in Trier. S. Loeschke, *Trierer Zeitschrift*, IX (1934), p. 167, pl. XV.

A clay form exhibits a similar scene. This form was for use as a model for a silver hemispherical cup or as a mold for a clay cup. Orpheus is dressed in a tunic and a Phrygian cap, he looks to the right and holds his lyre on his left leg. The animals and birds are varied and numerous. On a level with his torso, at the right a monkey stands on all fours looking up at the musician. The head of this animal is grotesque and birdlike—its snout is extended until it looks almost like a duck's bill. On a level with Orpheus' cap at the left an ape squats looking toward him, on a branch of the tree under which Orpheus sits. This animal too has a snout of exaggerated length—in addition the snout is tilted up. In its forepaws is a lyre which crudely copies the lyre in the hands of Orpheus. Diam. 18.5 cm. (pl. XV is a cast taken from the model). The form is broken at three places on the lower edge.

343. Berlin. Antiquarium (Inventory 30914, sherd a). From Rhodes. R. Zahn in Rostovtzeff, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VI (1933), p. 180, note 42.

A fragment of a vase decorated in relief and coated with

brown varnish. The scene is that of a merry banquet at which apes were present. Second century A. D.

344. Tunis. Alaoui Museum. From El-Aouja. A. Merlin and R. Lautier, *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui*, 2nd supplement (Paris, 1922), p. 313, no. 1173.

A clay oenochoe is decorated with the following design. Above is a line of shells, below are three columns which are fluted and topped with capitals with double volutes. In one space between the columns are a garland and a *bestiarius* with the head of a satyr, fighting a panther. In the other space are a garland and an ape. The ape whose back is covered by an animal skin is seated sidewise on the top of a column. The handle is broken. Roman work. Ht. 16.5 cm.

345. Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Museum. Formerly in the Collection of M. Sallier at Aix-en-Provence. Probably from Provence. Fr. Wieseler, *Abhandlungen der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Goettingen*, hist.-phil. classe, XIX (1874), p. 123. W. Froehner, *Les Musées de France* (Paris, 1873), pp. 12-17, pl. 3. J. Dechelette, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine*, II (Paris, 1904), pp. 307-308, pl. IV. Zahn, *loc. cit.*

A flask in the form of a flattened gourd is decorated by two relief scenes and is signed by Apollinaris. On one side is a scene showing the contest of Apollo and Marsyas. Various gods and satyrs surround these figures. Below the scene is a hexameter distich (divided into four lines) on Marsyas. On the other side is a less tragic contest—Bacchus and Hercules rival each other in wine drinking. Bacchus nude to the waist reclines on a couch and looks to the front; Ariadne nude except for a cloak over her right arm sits on the back of the couch and looks to the left. Hercules bearded and completely nude sits at the left and looks at the wine god. Bacchus turns over a huge cantharus which he has just emptied, and Hercules holding a large bowl looks dismayed and chagrined. In front of the couch is a table with cups; to the left a satyr and a Bacchante. Under Hercules' right foot is a tame panther, and beside his right hand an ape squats blowing a four reed pipe. The animal holds the pipe in its forepaws and rests its elbows on its knees. Its snout

is long and pointed. The ears, eyes and nose are definitely marked. Red clay with the varnish almost worn off. Wieseler incorrectly calls it a glass vase. Gallo-Roman work of the beginning of the third century A. D.

346. Speier. Historical Museum of Pfalz. From Blickweiler and Eschweilerhof. R. Knorr and F. Sprater, *Die westpfälzischen Sigillatatoepfereien* (Speier am Rhein, 1927), p. 33, pl. 39, 12; p. 63, pl. 78, 2. Zahn, *loc. cit.*

A fragment of sigillate ware shows parts of three decorated panels. In the first a squirrel squats on the branch of a tree, below it an ape squats to the right and holds in its right forepaw a branch with leaves, below a rough outline of an eagle. In the second is Hercules, the third repeats the first but only the body of the ape and part of the eagle remain. The ape bends forward and its arm clears its knee. The mouth is open, the snout is blunt, the hair of the body is definitely marked. Gallo-Roman work.

- 347-348. Rottweil. Museum. From Rottweil. Knorr and Sprater, *op. cit.*, p. 80, pl. 85, 6-7; p. 63, pl. 78, 1. Zahn, *loc. cit.*

A fragment of sigillate ware shows parts of three decorated panels. In the first a nude, human figure squats beside a bunch of grapes, in the second an ape half-squats to the right, in the third a nude gladiator holds a small, crescent-shaped shield in his left hand. The ape has pointed ears, a doglike snout, its right forepaw dangles in front of its knees. The paws are apelike with long digits, the hair of the body is marked by small dots. A second, smaller sherd which is probably from the same vase shows the second panel with the ape almost complete and a small portion of the third panel. Gallo-Roman work.

349. Formerly in the collection of Count Sergei Stroganov (now in the Hermitage?). E. Gerhard, *Arch. Zeit.*, I (1845), cols. 161-165, pl. X. O. Jahn, *Archaeologische Beiträge* (Berlin, 1847), p. 436. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 3, note 35. Fr. Wieseler, *loc. cit.* S. Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs grecs et romains*, III (Paris, 1912), p. 520, no. 2. J. Smirnov, *Argenterie orientale* (in Russian, French description of plates, St. Petersburg, 1909), pl. XXXVIII, no. 67. M. Rostovtzeff, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VI (Prague, 1933), pp. 178-181, pl. XII, figs. 4-5.

A silver cup which in shape is an almost perfect hemi-

sphere, is elaborately decorated with relief figures. The outside rim is ornamented with a wave pattern and then a pearl pattern; the bottom of the bowl (outside) shows a terrifying mask (Gorgon?). The main scene can be broken up into three groups (arranged counter-clockwise). (1) An almost nude, dignified, bearded man sits on a chair holding a rough club in his left hand. This man (reminiscent of Heracles or Zeus) listens to the narrative of an excited peasant crouched on an anvil. (2) In front of the carcass of a boar the man of the first scene holds his club upraised to strike a young man who is using a short sword. The young man wears a high-girt, sleeved tunic. Between the two men is an undecipherable inscription, which is apparently in Pehlevi (cf. Rostovtzeff, p. 180, note 44). (3) The young man of the second scene is seated with his wife on a couch covered with a piece of tapestry. Both sit "tailor fashion." To the left a peasant carries in a wine-skin and a cupbearer approaches with two pitchers and a cup. The young man's hair is cut in Russian fashion, he wears a kaftan with lapels, trousers and soft shoes, and holds in his right hand a goblet. His wife is gorgeously dressed in an embroidered coat and cap, she is wearing earrings and holds a mirror in her left hand. Above them hovers a strange creature carrying a twisted crown, the Sassanian symbol of royal power. To the right are two monkeys. One squats on the floor and plays a flute which it holds in both forepaws. The animal looks back at the second monkey, which holds with both hands a kind of accordion. The proportions of the animals are well done, but the snouts are too human to be life-like. These are obviously the jesters of the celebration.

The description above in the main follows Rostovtzeff, who goes on to suggest that this scene like others he has been discussing (*Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VI [1935], p. 161-185), may be a story taken from Iranian, heroic epic (although the exact story cannot now be placed, p. 181). In this case there are three acts: (1) The news of the young

hero is brought to the old hero, (2) The young hero defeats the old hero, (3) The young hero and his consort feast as he is being crowned. Greco-Sakian work—second or third century A. D. (Rostovtzeff). Reinach says that this bowl is from Panticapaeum, Gerhard that it is from Kertch, but Rostovtzeff lists the origin as unknown. Diameter, 14.6 cm., ht. 4.6 cm.

**350.** Formerly in the collection of Count Sergei Stroganov. From Perm. Reinach, *op. cit.*, III, p. 521, 1.

A silver plate decorated with a scene showing an ape riding on a horse and surrounded by nine birds and animals. The scene is surrounded by a band of decoration resembling two twisted ropes; there is a wide undecorated band between the rope-pattern and the edge of the bowl. The horse is heavy set, and all of the animals are crudely drawn. The ape is wearing a pleated skirt and has its forearms in the air.

**351.** Bobbio Monastery (Chiesa di San Colombano). H. Grisar, *Nuovo bullettino di archeologia cristiana*, III (1897), pp. 8-10, pl. I. Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, I (Milan, 1901), pp. 535-536, figs. 404-405 (on pp. 444-445). Hans Graeven, *Antike Schnitzereien aus Elfenbein und Knochen*, series 1 (Hanover, 1903), pp. 29-30. *Bonn. Jb.*, CXVIII (1909), p. 222, note 2. O. M. Dalton, *Antiquaries Journal*, III (1923), pp. 215-218. R. Eisler, *Vortraege der Bibliothek Warburg*, II, II (1922/23), p. 14, note 5, pl. II, fig. 8. W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London, 1935), p. 264, pl. 15.

An ivory pyxis elaborately decorated has in a narrow band around the lip rural scenes showing farmers and domestic animals. The main decoration is a wide band of high relief. On one side of the pyxis hunters pursue wild beasts. The other scene, the more important one, shows Orpheus playing the lyre in the midst of animals and mythological figures. Orpheus is seated and wears eastern dress, below him a horse lies within a semicircular arch, behind him to the left is a tree. A griffin, a centaur, and a lion are on the left, on the right are an ape, a harpy, a satyr, a ram, and a tiger. The ape squats on the lyre itself on a level with Orpheus' head.

An interesting legend lies back of the pyxis. It was said

to have been given by Gregory the Great to San Colombano, the Irish founder of Bobbio, when he visited Rome. Ivory vessels of this type were undoubtedly used to preserve the Eucharist from one mass to another. Moreover many of them have Christian subjects. But the origin of the type goes back to pagan times. Hence we may assume that those which show a pagan subject were probably made by pagan artists. This scene of Orpheus has at times been given a Christian interpretation (e.g. by Venturi). The parody of the ape and the presence of mythological creatures such as the centaur preclude this. Moreover the beast hunts and the rural scenes can be easily pagan as Christian. Perhaps the Christians who later used it gave it a Christian meaning. The pyxis is dated as early as the second century A.D. by Grisar. This may be too early, but it seems quite classical. Ht. 15 cm.; diameter at the top 13 cm.

352. Florence. The Bargello of the Museo Nazionale (originally from the Abbey of St. Julien à Brioude). Ch. Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie* II (Paris, 1874), pp. 18-25 (p. 19 is a flattened drawing). Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe, études archéologiques*, V (Paris, 1887), p. 62, pl. CCCLXIV. Grisar, *loc. cit.* Graeven, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-31, pls. 15-19. *Bonn. Jb.*, CXVIII (1909), p. 222, note 2. Dalton, *loc. cit.*

A somewhat similar pyxis. The narrow band at the top is omitted and there is a semicircular opening below Orpheus. Many of the animals are carved on little ledges. The figures around Orpheus are about the same: a monkey, a centaur, a lion, a tiger, a griffin, a satyr, etc. Above to the left of Orpheus is a tree with a snake in it. The monkey squats on the right and faces Orpheus. The proportions are not so good as in the Bobbio pyxis—the monkey is almost as large as Orpheus. The pyxis dates considerably later—in the fourth or fifth centuries—but the resemblance is so close that the two vessels surely had the same prototype (Graeven, pp. 29-30). Height 15.5 cm.; diameter above inside 7.3 cm.; diameter below outside 10 cm.; circumference in the middle 28 cm.

## B. MOLDED FIGURE VASES

Figure vases in the form of apes are much more numerous than vases decorated with scenes in which apes appear. This is quite natural, since the ape-figure with its comic possibilities lends itself more readily to this type of vase. These figure vases may be subdivided into four groups.

1. *Greco-Egyptian faïence figure vases (353-369)*. These are mainly those of Egyptian manufacture which are found on Greek sites. However, in an early period in Rhodes, factories were probably set up for manufacturing these vases; if this were so, Egyptian methods were used, perhaps Egyptian workmen were imported to do the work. In the case of the Naucratic faïence fabric this holds too. The amount of Greek influence in these vases is probably small and difficult to determine. It is interesting to note here that Egyptian potters anticipated or influenced most of the variations to be found in the posture of the ape in Greek figure vases:—cf. M. I. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques dans l'antiquité* (2 vols., tr. Carsow, Paris, 1927; the original Russian ed., Moscow, 1916), I, pp. 113-118; 178-179: E. R. Price, *East Greek Pottery* (Paris, 1927), pp. 39-40.

2. *East Greek figure vases (370-409)*. These vases are marked by the use of red or yellow-brown clay, often containing bits of mica. They are sometimes done in the vase technique with glaze paint, sometimes in the terracotta technique with dull paint. The vase mouth is usually conspicuous being shaped like the mouth of an aryballus or a lecythus. The body of the animal may be rendered by large spots, but where this is done the extremities of the body are usually marked in relief rather than in the round. Often these East Greek vases are found on mainland sites or in Italy.

3. *Mainland Greek figure vases (410-456)*. These vases are in the main proto-Corinthian or Corinthian. This style is marked by the use of the typical pale, greenish clay of Corinth, and by the use of the vase technique with glaze paint. The mouth of the vase is usually inconspicuous, in the top of the



monkey's head without any specially molded edge. In addition, the head of the ape is usually formalized into a pointed snout, and is covered with dark paint, the body is usually covered with small dots to mark the hide, and the legs are usually abnormally short offering a contrast to the size of the body. Since many of these have been found on Italian sites, it is often difficult to distinguish between the genuine Corinthian product and the Italian imitation. Usually the Italo-Corinthian figurine vase is marked by the yellowish or muddy white clay. In this class I am including all the figure vases which are Corinthian or Italo-Corinthian, and, when possible, distinguishing the two. A few crude local copies are included too, although they preserve but few of the characteristics which mark this group.

4. *Miscellaneous figure vases (457-471)*. This group has little in common with the others except the general subject. This group includes five glass and two bronze vases. Few examples in the first three subdivisions date later than the sixth century B. C., whereas all of these date from Hellenistic or Roman times with the possible exception of the two bronze vases.

The number of these vases makes a further subdivision on the basis of subject matter desirable. Not all of these types are represented in each group, but the same letter is used in each case: *a. Squatting apes*; *b. Riding apes*; *c. Apes eating*; *d. Apes with their young*; *e. Apes with vases*; *f. Apes with paws to their heads*; *g. Apes playing musical instruments*; *h. Apes' heads*.

For figure vases and their classification, cf. D. M. Robinson, *A. J. A.*, X (1906), pp. 420 ff.; E. Buschor, "Das Krokodil des Sotades," *Muen. Jb. Bild. K.*, I/II (1919), pp. 1-10 (especially p. 10); H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 170-180. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 165-198. Price, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-41. P. Ducati, *Storia della ceramica greca* (2 vols., Florence, 1922), II, pp. 503-505; G. Lipold, "Korinthische Salbgefäesse," *Schumacher-Festschrift*

(Mainz, 1930), pp. 199-201, figs. 1-3; D. M. Robinson, *C. V. A., The Robinson Collection, Baltimore, Md.* (fasc. 1 = U. S. A. fasc. 4, Cambridge, Mass., 1934), p. 32 (text for pl. XV, 2).

1. *Greco-Egyptian faïence figure vases (353-369).*

a. *Squatting apes (353-355).*

**353.** London. British Museum (A 1229). From Camirus. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 115; II, pl. XXXIV, fig. 127.

An ape crouches on all fours, an unusual position which is not found in later vases. The paws are in relief, and the body is very round. The pour-hole in the back is broken. Porous faïence with blue glaze. Naucratic fabric.

**354.** Cairo Museum (3970). Huber Collection. W. Freiherr von Bissing, *Fayencegefäße, Catalogue général du Musée du Caire* (Vienna, 1902), pp. 82-83, no. 3970 (figure). G. A. Bénédite, *Objets de toilette, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, I (Cairo, 1911), p. 58, no. 3970, pl. XXIV. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 116.

A vase in the form of a squatting cynocephalus which holds around its head a gazelle skin. The mane is represented by indented parallel lines. Bright green on the neck of the bottle. Naucratic fabric (Maximova), although von Bissing calls it Saite. Ht. 6.7 cm.

**355.** Cairo. Museum (3838). From Sa el-hagar. Von Bissing, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73, no. 3838 (figure). Bénédite, *op. cit.*, I, p. 58, no. 3838, pl. XXIV. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 115.

A vase in the form of a cynocephalus, holding on its knees a gazelle. Bright blue with dark brown dots. Ht. 6 cm. This is a parody of Bes holding a gazelle on his knees—Maximova, *op. cit.*, p. 116 and p. 141, fig. 30; *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.*, III (1900) p. 210, pl. VI. Naucratic fabric (Maximova), although von Bissing calls it Saite.

c. *Apes eating (356-357).*

**356-357.** Rhodes. From the Acropolis of Lindos (excavations of 1902-14). Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I (Berlin, 1931), col. 363, no. 1330, pl. 58.

A crouching ape is eating a large piece of fruit painted

black. It was found in three fragments. The lower part of the animal is lacking on the left side. The mouth of the vase is broken. A vase sits on the ground between its legs. A ring of plumes is around the face (i. e. parallel indentations). Blue glaze. Egyptian faïence work. Ht. 8 cm. The head of a similar vase was also found.

*d. Apes with young (358-361).*

- 358.** Rhodes. From the Acropolis of Lindos (excavations of 1902-14). Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, I, cols. 363-364, no. 1332, pl. 58.

A fragment of a vase representing a small ape seated on the ground at the right side of its mother. The piece left shows the little ape crouched to front looking sideways. Details are represented by incised lines. The right paw of the mother can be seen on the little ape's shoulder. White glaze with black touches. This vase is now restored. Egyptian work. Ht. 4.3 cm.

- 359.** Paris. Louvre. From Italy. Blinkenberg, *loc. cit.*

As above.

- 360.** Aegina. From the temple of Athena (Aphaia). A. Furtwaengler, *Aegina, das Heiligtum der Aphaia* (Munich, 1906), p. 388, no. 33, pl. 112, figs. 4 and 4a. Cf. Blinkenberg, *loc. cit.* Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 116.

A faïence vase in the form of a cynocephalus holding a small ape. The vase mouth extends above the head of the ape. There is a hole for suspension in the top of the head beside the mouth of the vase. The details are well worked; the vase mouth is gray-green, the ape's skin is yellow with large black spots. Egyptian work. Ht. 7.2 cm.

- 361.** From Panticapaeum (Russia). Pharmakowsky, *Arch. Anz.*, XVII (1912), col. 342, fig. 30. Cf. Blinkenberg, *loc. cit.*

A porcelain aryballus in the form of an ape with a young one. It was originally blue with details in brown. Egyptian work.

*e. Apes with vases (362-368).*

- 362.** Rome. Villa Giulia (braccio nuovo, sala III, center case). From the Necropolis of Banditaccia at Caere (Cervetri). Mengarelli, *Studi Etruschi*, I (1927), p. 160, pl. XXVIII, b. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 115, note 2. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 377.

A vase in the form of a squatting cynocephalus holding a crater in front. Its left forepaw is on the vase, its right to its cheek. There is a high lecythus spout. The eyes are molded, but other details are not clear. Green paste. Egyptian work. Ht. 11.1 cm.

- 363.** From Carthage. Delattre, *C. R. Acad. Insc.*, 4th ser., XXII (1894), p. 450, note 1. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 115, note 1. Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, I, col. 363 on no. 1330.

As above. The vase which the cynocephalus holds is surmounted by a frog. An imitation of Egyptian work.

- 364-366.** London. British Museum (A 1224). From Camirus. Maximova, *loc. cit.*

As above. One complete vase, and two fragmentary ones.

- 367.** Cairo. (3967). From Greece. Maximova, *loc. cit.*

As above.

- 368.** Berlin. Antiquarium (room 9, cupboard 10 a, Inv. 4877). From Thebes in Boeotia. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 115, note 2; II, pl. XXXIII, fig. 125. Cf. Blinkenberg, *loc. cit.* K. A. Neugebauer, *Fuehrer durch das Antiquarium*, II (Berlin, 1932), p. 31.

A monkey is seated on an oval base. In front of it is a large jar, on which its left forepaw rests; its right is to its snout; its tail curls around to the right. On top of the jar is a small frog. The mouth of the vase is in the form of a lotus flower. Excellent naturalistic work; faïence with blue glaze and details in black. Egyptian work. Ht. 10 cm.

*f. Ape with paws to its head (369).*

- 369.** Paris. Louvre (N. III, 2415). From Rhodes. Maximova, *op. cit.*, II, pl. XXXIV, fig. 126, a-b.

A squatting ape with its forepaws to its snout, has its elbows on its knees. The pour-hole rim is broken. Summary work; faïence with white glaze. Egyptian work. Ht. 5.8 cm.

2. *East Greek figure vases (370-409).*a. *Squatting apes (370-395).*

- 370.** London. British Museum (B 290). H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum* (London, 1903), p. 121, B 290. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 4, b. M. I. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques dans l'antiquité* (tr., Paris, 1927), I, p. 117; II, pl. XIV, fig. 59.

An ape squats on a small square pedestal with its forepaws clasped around its knees. It leans forward, and has a molded collar of red around its neck. There is an alabastron spout on its head. The body and hair are painted black, the face is covered with a white slip. Ionian work. Ht. 9.5 cm.

- 371.** Vienna. Formerly in the Oesterreichisches Kaiserhaus. From Ialysus. Von Schneider, *Arch. Anz.*, VII (1892), col. 116, no. 115. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 4, c. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117, note 1.

As above. It supports its chin with a staff.

- 372.** Paris. Louvre (854, 571). From Camirus. L. Heuzey, *Catalogue des figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre*, I (Paris, 1882), 235, no. 57. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 4, fig. 4. Maximova, *loc. cit.*

An ape in the form of a vase of white clay. It holds a staff to its chest with its left forepaw. Ionian work, the free style of Rhodes. Ht. 9 cm. (Winter gives 10 cm. as the height.)

- 373.** Dardanelles. Calvert Collection. From Neandria. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 4, d. Maximova, *loc. cit.*

As above. Ionian work. Ht. 10 cm.

- 374.** London. British Museum (A 1107). From Rhodes. Maximova, *op. cit.*, II; pl. XXII, fig. 89, a-b.

A squatting ape, with its forepaws around its knees, rests its snout upon its knees. The vase was a lecythus spout; light buff clay, large red spots on the body, solid brown paint on the head and base. Ht. 8 cm.

- 375.** Oxford. Ashmolean Museum (1879, 186; Henderson bequest). From Camirus. H. G. G. Payne, *C. V. A., Oxford, Ashmolean Museum* (fasc. 2, Great Britain, fasc. 9, 1931), II, D, pl. VIII, 5-6.

A vase in the form of an ape squatting on a pedestal with

its forepaws on its knees. The details of the shoulders, arms and knees are done without definite molding. The eyes are marked very plainly and naturalistically. The proportions are more nearly correct than in the proto-Corinthian examples. The ears stand out. A lecythus spout comes out of the head. Ionian work; Gorgonieon style. The clay is pale red; paint fired red; matt purple; brown for spots, outlines of eyes, eye dots, white of eyes, white; black dots on mouth-piece. Ht. 9.5 cm.

376. Formerly in the Collection of A. Vogell at Karlsruhe. From South Russia. M. Bieber, "Die Sammlung Vogell," *Zeitschrift fuer bildende Kunst*, XIX (1907-08, Leipzig), pp. 170-171, fig. 11. J. Boehlau, *Griechische Altertuermer suedrussisches Fundorts aus dem Besitze des Herrn A. Vogell, Karlsruhe: Versteigerung zu Cassel, Mai 1908 durch Max Cramer* (Cassel, 1908), p. 8, no. 45, fig. 3, pl. I, 2. Cf. Buschor, *Muen. Jb. Bild. K.*, I/II (1919), p. 10.

An ape vase very similar to the preceding example. The eyes are white, circled with violet, and have violet eyeballs. Ionian work. Ht. 9.4 cm.

377. Munich. Antiquarium. From Rhodes. Sieveking, *Arch. Anz.*, XXV (1910), col. 486. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117, note 1. Buschor, *loc. cit.*

An alabastron in the shape of a squatting ape. Ht. 10 cm.

378. Rhodes. From Ialysus (grave 377, 1928, Inv. no. 11542). Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, III (Rhodes, 1929), pp. 73-75, fig. 66. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 380. G. Jacopi, *C. V. A., Museo di Rodi* (fasc. 2 = Italia, fasc. 10, Rome, 1934), III, F, pl. IV, 8.

A clay alabastron in the form of a seated ape which clasps its knees with its forepaws. The ape sits on a pedestal. The eyes are marked clearly with modelling and paint. The arms and legs are indefinitely shown. There is a protuberance on the top of the head. Dark brown spots mark the skin of the animal. Reddish clay, grayed by fire. Ht. 10 cm.

379. Istanbul. Museum of Antiquities (4084). From the Acropolis of Lindos (excavations of 1902-14). G. Mendel, *Catalogue des figurines grecques de terre cuite des Musées impériaux ottomans* (Constantinople, 1909), p. 52, no. 621. Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I (Berlin, 1931), col. 473, no. 1927; pl. 85.

A squatting ape has its forepaws in the air. The left arm

and the legs are broken. The clay is unpainted, rough and reddish, with mica in it; it is handmade. The mouth of the vase is in the ape's back. Archaic Ionian work. Ht. 8.4 cm.

- 380.** Rhodes. From Camirus (Sepolcreto di Checraci, Tomb CCV, 12533, excavations of 1929-30). Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, IV (Rhodes, 1931), p. 358, CCV, 2, figs. 399, 403.

An alabastron in the form of a squatting ape. The extremities are crudely modelled parallel to the body with the legs in front and the arms at the side. The ears are very large; the mouth is a roughly shaped rectangular opening (*ca.* 0.9 by 0.2 cm.). It might well be an opening for sprinkling perfume. The head is badly broken and restored in fig. 403. It could not possibly be a bird. Jacopi calls it an unrecognizable animal, an ape or a bird. Ht. 13.5 cm.

- 381.** Rhodes. From Ialysus (1922). Maiuri, "Jalisso," *Ann. Scuol. It. At.*, VI-VII (1923-24), p. 300.

A plastic ointment vase roughly modelled in the form of an ape.

- 382-383.** From Aegina (Inv. II, 124). A. Furtwaengler, *Aegina, das Heiligtum der Aphaia* (Munich, 1906), p. 280, no. 68, fig. 311. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117, note 1.

Two fragmentary vases in the form of squatting apes. Reddish clay. The heads and arms are missing. Ionian work. Ht. 8 cm.

- 384.** From Aegina (Inv. II, 124). Furtwaengler, *loc. cit.*

The head of an ape-vase, like the preceding example.

- 385.** London. British Museum (A 1106). Maximova, *loc. cit.*

A vase in the form of a squatting ape. Ionian work.

- 386.** Leningrad. Hermitage (4143). Lichine Collection. Maximova, *loc. cit.* Cf. P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani, Catalogo* (2 vols., Rome, 1930), I, p. 152.

A vase in the form of a squatting ape, which holds its head to one side and scratches its back with its left forepaw. Ionian work; Mingazzini refers to it as a Corinthian vase.

387. Boston. Museum of Fine Arts. A. Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, I (Cambridge, 1928), no. 502, pl. XLIX. Caskey, *Arch. Anz.*, XXIX (1914), col. 49. G. M. A. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture, a Survey* (Oxford and New York, 1930), pl. LVIII, fig. 185.

A vase with an oval bottom is molded in the form of a squatting ape. The clay is dull red, grayed by fire, and it is decorated with brown-black glaze and brown markings. The head, except the snout, is solid black. On the back is an incised inscription: Πόλον ἐμὲ ἐποίησε. The inscription is modern as is that on a snake vase in the Louvre, cf. the discussion of a similar snake vase, unsigned, in Toronto: D. M. Robinson, C. G. Harcum and J. H. Iliffe, *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology* (2 vols., Toronto, 1930), p. 40, no. 140. Early sixth century. Ht. 7.2 cm.

388. Boston. Museum of Fine Arts. Fairbanks, *op. cit.*, I, no. 518, pl. LI.

A plastic vase with the head of an ape. The body is a cylinder marked with vertical incisions as if to show the hair of the ape. The eyes are incised, the mouth and ears are plastic. There is an alabastron mouth on the top of the head. Brown glaze with added red marking. Ht. 9.3 cm.

389. From Cnossus. Sp. Marinatos, *Arch. Anz.*, XLVIII (1933), cols. 305-309, fig. 18 a.

A cylindrical jar with a lecythus spout is modelled as a squatting ape. The limbs and head seem to have been added, almost as an afterthought. The head is peering forward, molded to the curved shoulder of the jar. The legs are drawn up, and the forepaws are on the knees. The modelling is extremely crude—the eyes are incised circles, the snout is broad and dog-like, and the ears are marked. Archaic.

390. From Orchomenos in Arcadia. Cf. Blum-Plassait, *B. C. H.*, XXXVIII (1914), p. 81, fig. 9. *Arch. Anz.*, XXIX (1914), col. 159.

A crudely formed vase in the shape of an ape squatting with hindpaws pulled up, and arms crossed. Sixth century.



391. Lausanne (4046). Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117, note 1.

A vase in the form of an ape squatting with its head to one side. The details are added in color. Ionian work.

392. Syracuse. Museo archeologico (Room XII. Case V). From the Necropolis of Fusco. P. Orsi, *Not. Scav.*, 1893, p. 480. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 271 (*Nachtrag* to p. 222).

An ape squatting with both forepaws on its knees. The head has a lecythus top with pour-hole. Buff terracotta. Orsi calls it a cynocephalus. Ht. 13.5 cm.

393. Berlin. Antiquarium (No. 3387). From Leontini. Hermann Winnefeld, "Altgriechisches Bronzebecken aus Leontini," *Winckelmannsprogramm*, no. 95 (Berlin, 1899), pp. 25 (figure), 31, note 25. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 271 (*Nachtrag* to p. 222, 10 i).

A squatting ape in the form of an incense jar. The head is turned slightly to the right, the forepaws are broken off. The mouth of the vase is in the animal's back. Ht. 11 cm.

394. Tunis. Alaoui Museum. L. Poinssot, A. Merlin and L. Haute-coeur, *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui*, 1st supplement (Paris, 1910), p. 146, no. 144.

A vase in the form of a seated ape. Ht. 9 cm.

395. From Populonia (tomba a camera 1 in the excavations of 1931-34). A. Minto, *Not. Scav.*, 1934, p. 364, fig. 19.

A vase in the form of a squatting ape. The modelling is crude. The eyes, snout and ears are marked. The bottom is flat with little indication of the hindpaws. The forepaws seem to be resting on the knees. Yellowish clay.

#### *b. Riding apes (396-398).*

396. Berlin. Antiquarium (8732). From Aegina. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117; II, pl. xv, fig. 60. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 223, 2, fig. 2 (the provenience is given as Samos). J. Boehlau, *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 156, fig. 73.

A vase is in the form of an ape squatting backwards on a tortoise. It holds a bird clasped to its breast with both forepaws. The pour-hole is under the tail of the tortoise. The work is crude, and the details are unmarked. Red clay with traces of red paint. Ht. 9 cm.

397. London. British Museum (B 93). From Melos (1820). H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum* (London, 1903), B 93. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 223, 2. Boehlau, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

As above. There is a white slip on the handmade vase. Walters calls it a man on a tortoise, but comparison with the preceding example in Berlin settles the fact that it is an ape. The figure is broken and repaired. Ht. 7 cm.

398. Tarentum. Museum. From Tarentum. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 225, 11.

As above. Ht. 8.5 cm. Winter does not specify that it is a vase.

*c. Apes eating (399-401).*

399. Berlin. Antiquarium (T. C. 3527). From Sicily (1841). A. Furtwaengler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* (Berlin, 1896), I, no. 1316. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 10 f. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117; II, pl. XIV, fig. 57.

A squatting ape in the form of an alabastron holds a blue sausage in its left forepaw, and has its right forepaw to its head. The pour-hole is in the back and there is red paint on the pour-hole. Ionian work. Ht. 10 cm.

- 400-401. London. British Museum (A 1222-1223). From Camirus. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 115, note 3.

A vase in the shape of a squatting ape, which is eating. Ionian work.

*d. Apes with young (402-404).*

402. Sparta. Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia*, *J.H.S.*, suppl. vol. V (1929), p. 160, no. 7, pl. XLIII, 4.

A vase of white clay in the form of a squatting monkey with a snake molded in relief on its breast, and a little monkey (head lost) on its left shoulder. The mouth of the vase is in the top of the head and has no rim; the details are marked by incised lines, and the ears are spirals. The monkey has its knees drawn up and clasps them. Probably from Laconian II (late seventh century), made in imitation of an East Greek model.

403. Athens. National Museum (2095, Room 3, Case 51). Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 116-117; II, pl. XIV, fig. 58.

A vase in the form of a squatting ape holding a young one in both arms to its breast. The older ape's head is turned to the right. The pour-hole is in the back. The terracotta has a flat gray finish. The legs are shown only from the knees down and the right hindpaw is broken. Ionian work. Ht. 10 cm.

404. Athens. National Museum. Fr. Wieseler, "Archaeologischer Bericht ueber seine Reise nach Griechenland," *Abhandlungen der hist.-phil. Classe der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Goettingen*, XIX (1874), p. 123. Cf. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1876, p. 155, note 4; 1877, p. 267, note 4.

A female ape, sitting like a human being, suckles its young one, and looks to the right.

*e. Ape with vase (405).*

405. From Carthage. Delattre, *C. R. Acad. Insc.*, 4th Ser., XXII (1894), pp. 449-450.

A vase in the form of a squatting cynocephalus holding a vase between its legs. Grayish terracotta. Ht. 10.5 cm.

*f. Apes with paws to their heads (406-409).*

406. Thera. Museum. From the necropolis near Sallada. H. Dragendorff, *Theraeische Graeber* (vol. II of *Thera*, ed. by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, Berlin, 1903), p. 27, no. 21, fig. 70. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 10 b. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117.

A vase in the shape of a squatting ape which has its right forepaw to its ear, and its left to its head. The body, the eyes and the mouth are white; the head, arms and legs are black. The mouth of the vase is in the back of the animal. Archaic work. Winter lists it as a terracotta figurine. Ht. 7.5 cm.

407. From Cnossus. Sp. Marinatos, *Arch. Anz.*, XLVIII (1933), cols. 305-306, 309, fig. 18 b.

A jar broad at the bottom and narrowing to the shoulder, with a lecythus spout, is modelled as a squatting ape. The limbs and head seem to have been added afterwards. The

legs are drawn up, the left forepaw is on the left knee, the right is placed on the back of the head which is placed on the shoulder of the jar and is twisted to the left. The eyes are incised circles, the snout is pointed. Crude archaic work.

408. From the Archaic Artemesium et Ephesus. C. Smith in Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus, the Archaic Artimesia* (London, 1908), I, p. 231, no. 32, fig. 59.

The upper part of an aryballus in the form of an ape. The lip and handle, together with the head of the animal, are preserved. Its left eye is covered with its left forepaw. The markings are in the main in dark paint, the molding is not prominent.

409. Syracuse. From the grave no. 210 from the necropolis of Fusco. *Not. Scav.*, 1895, p. 134, fig. 11. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 10 h. Petersen, *Roem. Mitt.*, XI (1896), p. 251. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117, note 1.

A vase in the form of an ape squatting on the ground with its left forepaw to its belly and its right to its head. The left arm is broken at the elbow, and the hindpaws are broken. It was found in a child's grave with a dove and a tortoise. Ht. 8 cm.

### 3. Mainland Greek figure vases (410-456).

#### a. Squatting apes (410-420).

410. Rome. Villa Giulia. Castellani Collection (I, 45). P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani, Catalogo* (Rome, 1930), I, p. 152, no. 389; II, pl. XXX, 3. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 381, note.

A Corinthian alabastron in the shape of an ape of stylized design. The legs are drawn up in such a way that it sits with a slope backward. The two hindpaws are joined and broken. The right forepaw is to the back of the neck. The snout is pointed with a slit for the mouth. The body is cylindrical and covered with brown spots. The head, forepaws and elbows are in solid color. Two molded protuberances are on the rump and keep the figure from falling backwards. Ht. 9.5 cm.

411. Toronto. Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology (accession no. C. 443). From Castel d'Asso near Viterbo. Sturge Collection. D. M. Robinson, C. G. Harcum and J. H. Iliffe, *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology* (Toronto, 1930), I, p. 41, no. 141 (with a bibliography of ape-formed alabstra); II, pl. XI.

An alabastron in the shape of a squatting ape. The ape has its legs drawn up and its forepaws clasped at its neck. There is a chain around its neck. The clay is greenish-yellow covered with purplish-black dots as on Corinthian aryballi. The head is painted purplish-red, and has a pour-hole in it. Etrusco-Corinthian. Ht. 9.9 cm.

412. Brussels (A 863). Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.*

As above.

413. Mannheim. Hofantiquarium. From a grave at Vulci. Baumann, *Arch. Anz.*, V (1890), col. 15. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 10, A.

As above. Probably Italo-Corinthian, although Baumann calls it Corinthian.

414. Rome. Palazzo dei Conservatori. M. I. Maximova, *Les vases plastiques dans l'antiquité* (tr., Paris, 1927), I, p. 117, note 4.

As above.

415. Rome. Villa Giulia (10450). From Satricum. A. della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia* (Rome, 1918), I, p. 286. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.* Giglioli, *Studi Etruschi*, III (1929), p. 123. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, pp. 380-381.

As above.

416. Rome. Vatican. Museo Gregoriano (Room V, Case B, 1; II, 93). From Etruria. C. Albizzati, *Vasi antiche dipinti del Vaticano* (Rome, 1924), I, p. 42, no. 122. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 10 k. Maximova, *loc. cit.* Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.* Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 379.

As above. The head and arms are missing. Light colored clay, Corinthian. Ht. 8.4 cm.

417. From Populonia (tomba a camera 3 in the excavations of 1931-34). A. Minto, *Not. Scav.*, 1934, pp. 370-371, fig. 24.

As above. The right hindpaw clasps the left, the arms are broken. The rim of the orifice and the snout of the ape are

broken. There is a knob on the rump and a collar around the neck. Yellowish clay. Ht. 11 cm.

418. Massa Marittima. Museo Civico. From a chamber tomb (E) near Lago dell' Accesa. Doro Levi, *Mon. Ant.*, XXXV (1933), cols. 42-43, pl. X, E a.

As above. The neck is ringed, the hindpaws and the left arm are missing, the right forepaw is on the right knee. Ht. 10.5 cm.

419. London. British Museum. From Sardinia. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 118, fig. 18.

A vase in the shape of an ape has the arms and legs in relief, and the breasts marked by molded protuberances. A crude, local copy of Corinthian ware. Ht. 9 cm.

420. Paris. Louvre (167, 649).

A large seated monkey in the form of a vase has its forepaws on its knees. A later imitation of Corinthian ware.

#### b. *Riding apes* (421-421a).

421. Berlin. Antiquarium (T. C. 200). Von Koller Collection. A. Furtwaengler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* (Berlin, 1896), I, no. 1312. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 8, fig. 8. Maximova, *op. cit.*, II, pl. XLI, fig. 156. G. Lippold, "Korinthische Salzgefäße," *Schumacher-Festschrift* (Mainz, 1930), p. 200. H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931), p. 177, note 3.

A vase in the shape of an ape riding on a primitive horse. There is a pour-hole in each animal's head. The horse's legs are short, the arms of the ape merge into the neck of the horse, and its legs into the horse's body. Furtwaengler thinks the rider is a primitive man, and Maximova cites the shortness of its arms to prove this, but the shortness is due to their merging into the horse's neck. Lippold considers it an ape because of the head. The figure is the typical ape-type with pointed snout. The clay is brown, hence it is Italo-Corinthian as Payne says, although Maximova on the basis of technique calls it Corinthian. Ht. 9 cm.

- 421a. Erlangen. The University Collection (Inv. 630). G. Lippold, *loc. cit.*, pp. 200-201, fig. 3, 2.

An ape squats on the back of a reclining doe, and grasps the doe's neck with both forepaws. Both animals are hollow, but they form a true double vase, since the hollow sections are not connected. The ape has a collar around its neck, and its snout is abnormally long. The missing head of the doe was a stopper (for a similar complete doe, without the ape, cf. Maximova, *op. cit.*, II, pl. XL, fig. 151). The hair of both animals is indicated by brown spots. Yellow clay. Corinthian. Ht. 9.5 cm.

*d. Apes with young (422-430).*

422. Berlin. Antiquarium (574). Von Koller Collection. From Nola. Furtwaengler, *op. cit.*, I, no. 1314. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117; II, pl. XLI, fig. 154. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 7, fig. 7. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.* Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 177 and note 3. K. A. Neugebauer, *Fuehrer durch das Antiquarium*, II (Berlin, 1932), p. 15.

An ape with a young one in its lap. Both ape's heads are dark red and have pour-holes. Their bodies are spotted, and they have molded collars. Brown clay. It is Italo-Corinthian. Maximova calls it Corinthian because of the technique. Payne considers it Italian. The older ape's hindpaws are held together. There are molded additions to the rump. Ht. 10 cm.

423. Paris. Louvre (H 15; Case R, no. 358). From Italy. *Cataloghi del Museo Campagna* (Rome, n. d., 1860?), IX-X, no. 145. E. Pottier, *C. V. A. Musée du Louvre* (fasc. 8, France, fasc. 12), III, C, c., pl. 7, 7 and 11. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 7 b. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117, note 4. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.*

Like the preceding example. The clay and the surface are yellowish. There is dull black paint on the heads of both apes. The older ape's legs are broken at the knees. Corinthian.

424. Rome. Vatican. Museo Gregoriano (Room V, Case B, 1). From Etruria. Albizzati, *op. cit.*, I, p. 42, pl. 9, fig. 123. Maximova, *loc. cit.* Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.* Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 379.

As above. Ht. 10 cm.

425. Geneva. The Fol Museum. W. Fol, *Catalogue du Musée Fol*, I (Geneva, 1874), p. 33, no. 117. Cf. Maximova, *loc. cit.* Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.*

As above. Ht. 9 cm.

426. Syracuse. Museo Archeologico (Room XIV, Case I). From Megara Hyblaea.

As above.

427. Rome. Villa Giulia (10452). From Satricum. Della Seta, *op. cit.*, I, p. 286. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.*

As above. On the back of the older ape are painted three ducks.

428. Rome. Villa Giulia (6707). Cultrera, "Vasi dipinti del Museo di Villa Giulia," *Mon. Ant.*, XXIV (1914), col. 347, no. 4, pl. I, 4. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.*

As above. The little ape has its left forepaw on its mother's right shoulder. The bodies are covered with brown spots on a whitish background. Surface blackened. Ht. 9.3 cm.

- 429-430. Rome. Villa Giulia (27306-7). From Capena (Leprignano). Della Seta, *op. cit.*, pp. 353-354. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.* Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, pp. 380-381.

As above.

- 430a. Erlangen. The University Collection (Inv. 629). G. Lippold, "Korinthische Salzgefäße," *Schumacher-Festschrift* (Mainz, 1930), pp. 199-201, fig. 3, 1.

In general as above. The forepaws of the large ape are missing, as is all but the left hindpaw of the small ape. There is a collar around the neck of the large ape, and the circumference of its body is abnormally large. Reddish clay—Italo-Corinthian. Ht. 9 cm.

*e. Apes with vases (431-441).*

431. Berlin. Antiquarium (575). Von Koller Collection. From Nola. Furtwaengler, *op. cit.*, I, no. 1315. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 6, fig. 6. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117; II, pl. XLI, fig. 155. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.* Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 177, note 3.

A plastic vase in the form of an ape squatting on the ground and holding a round-bellied pot on its knees. The



pot is connected with the ape's body by a plastic band. There is a molded collar around the neck of the animal. The body is covered with dark spots; the nipples are marked with painted circles; the head, collar, and forepaws are a lustrous black. There are parallel stripes on the lip of the pot, and on its front is painted a swan to the right. The clay is brown; the feet are the color of the clay. The snout is pointed, and the eyes, mouth and digits are incised. Italo-Corinthian (Maximova calls it Corinthian because of the technique). Ht. 10 cm.

432. Oxford. Ashmolean Museum (1880, 11). Chester Collection. From Cerri, i. e. either Caere (Cervetri) or Caere Novum (Ceri). H. G. G. Payne, *C. V. A., Oxford, Ashmolean Museum* (fasc. 2, Great Britain, fasc. 9, 1931), III, C, pl. VIII, 9.

As above. The bowl is black, and there are marks of red on the head. The snout is pointed, and there are no incisions for the mouth and eyes. The clay is light, therefore the vase is probably Corinthian, although Payne calls it Italo-Corinthian. Ht. 9.3 cm.

433. Rome. Villa Giulia. Castellani Collection (I, 46). From Etruria. P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani* (Rome, 1930), I, p. 160, no. 404; II, pl. XXXI, 2.

As above. No details on the head. The bottom is flattened. Etrusco-Corinthian. Ht. 9 cm.

434. Geneva. The Fol Museum. W. Fol, *Catalogue du Musée Fol*, I (Geneva, 1874), p. 33, no. 115 (figure). Cf. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117, note 4. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.*

As above. Corinthian. Ht. 9 cm.

435. London. British Museum (A 1105). Maximova, *loc. cit.*

As above. Corinthian.

436. Munich. Koenigliche Vasensammlung. Arndt Collection (A 1079). From Tarquinii (Corneto). Maximova, *loc. cit.* Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.*

As above.

437. Hanover. Kestner Museum (704). Maximova, *loc. cit.*

As above.

438. G. Micali, *Storia degli antichi popoli italiani* (3 vols., 1835-36), III, p. 164, pl. CI, 2. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 6 b.

As above. The legs are broken off just below the knees. Both paws are on the sides of the vase. There are dots on the rim of the bowl, and a swan is painted on the front of the bowl.

439. Muenster. Westfalens Collection. Milchhoefer, *Arch. Anz.*, VII (1892), col. 27. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 6 d. Maximova, *loc. cit.* Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.* G. Lippold, "Korinthische Salbgefaesse," *Schumacher-Festschrift* (Mainz, 1930), pp. 199, 201, note 7.

As above. The vase is in the form of a human head. Maximova confuses the ointment vase in the Albertinum at Dresden with this one.

440. Plate V, 1. New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Classical Collection, Room 2, Case R, no. 26, 60, 92).

A squatting ape holds a bowl. The paint is reddish-brown on buff. There is a bird painted on the front of the bowl. The molded protuberances on the rump are larger than usual, and the hindpaws which are on each other are bent up so that the vase can sit up, though at an angle. There are the marks of a collar on its neck.

441. Dresden. Albertinum (1606). From Italy. Hermann, *Arch. Anz.*, XIII (1898), col. 131, no. 7. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 6 c. Maximova, *loc. cit.* Lippold, *loc. cit.*

As above. The ape's forepaws are on its knees. Maximova confused this vase with the one at Muenster. Corinthian. Ht. 9.5 cm.

*f. Apes with paws to their heads (442-456).*

442. Baltimore. Collection of D. M. Robinson. From Corinth. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.* D. M. Robinson, *C. V. A., The Robinson Collection, Baltimore, Md.* (fasc. 1 = U. S. A., fasc. 4, Cambridge, Mass., 1934), III, C, pl. XV, 2 (text, p. 32, including a good bibliography of ape-formed alabastra).

A vase in the form of a squatting ape with its right forepaw on its knee, and its left placed over its mouth. The clay is cream-colored, the body, arms and legs are covered

with brown spots except at the bottom. The head, neck, collar-band, forepaws, elbows, knees and hindpaws are painted dark brown. There are white dots for its eyes and ears. The hindpaws are manlike, the legs are shorter than normal. There is a molded collar around the neck, the ears are molded, the snout is long. There are slight protuberances on its rump. Corinthian. Ht. 9.5 cm.

443. Paris. Louvre (H 14). From Italy (Inventory Campana 3615). *Cataloghi del Museo Campagna* (Rome, n. d., 1860?), IX-X, no. 146. E. Pottier, *C. V. A., Musée du Louvre* (fasc. 8, France, fasc. 12), III, C, c. pl. 7, 6 and 11. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 10 g. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117, note 4. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.*

As above. The clay is white. The right forepaw is broken, only the digits are left. The hindpaws which are on each other are broken. The body is egg-shaped, there are molded additions to the rump. The decoration is incised with dull black. Corinthian. Ht. 8.5 cm., diam. 1.1 cm.

444. Munich. Antiquarium (675). J. Sieveking and R. Hackl, *Die koenigliche Vasensammlung zu Muenchen* (Munich, 1912), I, p. 86, no. 769, fig. 85. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.* P. Ducati, *Storia della ceramica greca* (Florence, 1922), II, p. 503, fig. 371. Maximova, *loc. cit.*

As above. The right forepaw is to its snout; the left arm is between its legs. The nipples are marked by painted circles. Ht. 9.5 cm.

445. Rome. Vatican Museum. Museo Gregoriano (Room V, Case B 1). Albizzati, *op. cit.*, I, p. 42, pl. 9, fig. 121. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.* Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 379. Maximova, *loc. cit.*

As above. The left forepaw is on its left knee, the right is to its snout. The ears are molded. Ht. 8 cm.

446. Berlin. Antiquarium (2243). Furtwaengler, *op. cit.*, I, no. 1313. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 10 e. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.* H. Dragendorff, *Theraeische Graeber* (Berlin, 1903), p. 124, note 150.

As above. The right forepaw is on the right knee, the left is pointing to its snout. Ht. 11 cm.

447. Micali, *op. cit.*, III, p. 165, pl. CI, 3. Winter, *Typen*, I, p. 222, 10, 1. Petersen, *Roem. Mitt.*, XII (1897), p. 16, note 1.

As above. The left forepaw is to the snout, the right to the belly. There is a ridge above the eyes. The legs are broken below the knees.

448. The Collection of Eugene Piot until it was dispersed in 1864. J. Fleury (pseudonym-Champfleury), *Histoire de la caricature antique* (2nd ed., Paris, 1865), pp. 210-211. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.*

As above. The body is egg-shaped and disproportionately large. Ht. 10.9 cm.

449. Vetulonia. Stefani Collection. From Porcarecce, near Vetulonia. Doro Levi, *Studi Etruschi*, V (1931), p. 517. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 379, note 1.

As above. Ht. 11 cm.

450. Princeton. The Princeton University Museum of Art (129). Smith, *A. A.*, XX (1925), p. 120. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.*

As above. The right forepaw is on the right leg, and the left eye is covered by the left paw. There are molded projections on the rump and the ears are modelled. The body is slim and the head is twisted a little to the right. The hindpaws, which grasp each other are extended down so far that the vase cannot stand upright. Ht. 10.5 cm.; perimeter of the waist, excluding the arms, 9.1 cm.

- 451-452. Florence. Museo Archeologico (2255, 4208). From Etruria. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117, note 4. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.*

In both examples the left forepaw is to the snout. The second example is larger. The first (2255) which Prof. Robinson recently saw in Florence is surely the one listed by Maximova as 2258.

453. Florence. Museo Archeologico (1207). Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.*

As above.

- 454-455. Geneva. The Fol Museum. W. Fol, *Catalogue du Musée Fol*, I (Geneva, 1874), p. 33, nos. 116, 118. Cf. Maximova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 117, note 1. Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *loc. cit.*

As above. The left paw covers the snout, and the right

arm is between the legs. Corinthian (Maximova incorrectly classes them with vases of Ionian manufacture). Hts. 9 and 8 cm.

456. New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Classical Collection, Room 2, Case R, no. G R 912).

The animal has its right forepaw on its right knee, its left forepaw on its left eye. The chest is bulkier than in the ordinary case, and the nipples are marked by molded protuberances. The nostrils, mouth and the digits of the paws are marked by incisions. The hindpaws are twisted, and the left one does not touch the ground when the vase is sitting. The paint is damaged, but there are signs of the spotted technique. An imitation of Corinthian ware.

#### 4. *Miscellaneous figure vases (457-471).*

##### *a. Squatting apes (457-458).*

457. Berlin. Antiquarium (Inv. 30148).

A bronze vase modelled in the form of a squatting ape.

458. Berlin. Antiquarium (Inv. 30894). The bequest of Dr. Dressel, director of the coin section.

As above.

##### *c. Apes eating (459-460).*

459. Formerly in the Collection of A. Vogell at Karlsruhe. From South Russia. M. Bieber, "Die Sammlung Vogell," *Zeitschrift fuer bildende Kunst*, XIX (1907-08), pp. 170-171, fig. 12. J. Boehlau, *Griechische Altertuermer suedrussisches Fundorts aus dem Besitze des Herrn A. Vogell, Karlsruhe: Versteigerung zu Cassel, Mai 1908 durch Max Cramer* (Cassel, 1908), p. 54, no. 533, fig. 32, pl. VIII, 11.

A plastic vase is molded in the form of a cynocephalus squatting on a rectangular block. Both elbows are on its knees. With its left forepaw it raises a piece of fruit to its mouth, and scratches its right shoulder with its right forepaw. The mouth is slightly open and the teeth show. The spout is on the shoulders at the back of the head, and has an oval handle attached to it. The anatomy and hair are ex-

tremely realistic. It is a unique example. Late Hellenistic work. Ht. 20.4 cm.

460. Cologne. Collection of C. A. Niessen. From Southern Gaul. S. Loeschke, *Beschreibung roemischer Altertuemer gesammelt von C. A. Niessen* (Cologne, 1911), I, p. 87, no. 1721 b; II, pls. LXXVI, CVIII.

A pot of yellow clay furnished with yellow glaze in the form of a grotesque squatting ape, which holds before its breast in both forepaws, an apple. The features are grotesque but clearly modelled; curious depressions mark the hair above the eyes. There is a lecythus top on the head, and a curved hand goes from this top to the back of the neck. The animal's phallus is plainly marked. Ht. 11 cm.

*g. Apes with musical instruments (461-468).*

- 461-463. Rheims. Fouche Collection. A. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume* (Leipzig, 1908), III, p. 762, note 3.

Three red clay vases are in the form of apes blowing on pipes.

464. Cologne. Wallraf-Richartz Museum. Bequeathed to the Museum from the Collection of Carl Disch. From Magnusstrasse (1865). *Bonn. Jb.*, XLI (1866), pp. 142-145, pl. III. *Arch. Anz.*, XXV (1867), p. 23.\* J. Kamp, *Arch. Zeit.*, XXXIV (1876), p. 203. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, p. 267, note 6. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 3, note 36. Kisa, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 760-762, fig. 307.

A white glass vase is in the form of a sitting ape. The ape sits like a man on a basket seat with a semicircular back, a piece of furniture of Egyptian origin which was exported and was imitated in Gaul during the empire: for representations of this type of chair cf. E. Tudot, *Collection de figurines en argile* (Paris, 1860), p. 32, fig. XLIV; pls. 25, 26, 28, 33. The ape is wearing a hooded cucullus (cf. *bardocucullus*, Martial XIV, 128 and L. M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* [Baltimore, 1938], p. 95) and holds a seven-reed pipe. The spout of the vase comes up between the cloak and the ape's head, and protrudes 3.4 cm. The cloak is fastened by a strap around the breast. The syrinx is held up to the ape's chin. The forepaws are human, the hindpaws are more

like a bear's than an ape's. The pot belly is quite human. The head is distinctly apelike with a large mouth (partly open), small nose, deep-set eyes, low forehead, human ears. The phallus is apelike, a deep indentation marking it. It is pointed up, but is comparatively small, so that Kisa's statement "ithyphallischer Zustand" (p. 762) is not accurate. This vase and similar ones are probably of a Cologne fabric, cf. Kisa, *op. cit.*, I, 220. The glass was colorless, but has dulled and taken on an iridescent tinge. Third century A. D. Ht. 19.9 cm.

Compare with these ape-formed vases, the similar one in *Bonn. Jb.*, XLIV (1868), pp. 274-275 (figure), of a woman holding a syrinx. The chair, the height of the vase, the pour-hole in the head, the hooded cloak, the seven-reed pipe held to the breast are all similar. The woman has negroid-Egyptian features, a bald or shaved head; she is pot-bellied and pigeon-toed and the *pudenda* are marked very plainly. The whole figure is very similar to the ape vases. The two types may be caricatures of Pan and the Nymph Syrinx.

465. Trier. Provincial Museum. From a child's coffin found at Trier-Pallien (St. 9616c). Kisa, *op. cit.*, III, p. 762. Loeschke, *Trierer Zeitschrift*, III (1928), pl. VII, 10; VII (1932), p. 37, no. 15, pl. VIII, 15.

As above. The glass is almost colorless with a faintly greenish tinge. The mouth of the vase is damaged.

466. Bonn. Provincial Museum. Found by Andernach at Martinsberg. H. Lehner, *Fuehrer durch das Provinzial Museum zu Bonn* (second edition, Bonn, 1904), p. 103, no. 3011. Cf. Kisa, *op. cit.*, III, p. 760.

As above. Damaged.

467. From Vermand in Picardy. Kisa, *loc. cit.*

As above. The glass is duller. It is from a child's grave in the Calvary cemetery.

468. Trier. Provincial Museum (no. 05,475). *Bonn. Jb.*, CXVII (1908), p. 374. Kisa, *loc. cit.*

As above. The face is broken away.

*h. Apes' heads (469-471).*

469. Trier. Provincial Museum (24, 19). From Waldorf. S. Loeschcke, "Roemische Gefaesse aus Bronze, Glas und Ton," *Trierer Zeitschrift*, III (1928), pp. 79, 81, pl. VII, 11. Kisa, *op. cit.*, III, p. 762.

A vase of red-brown clay is molded in the form of an ape's head. The eyes, ears and snout are carefully modelled. The hair is marked in a natural way. The cylindrical spout is on the top of the head, and immediately back of it is a modelled extension pierced for suspension. Late Roman work.

470. Trier. Provincial Museum. From Trier. Loeschcke, *loc. cit.*, pl. VII, 16. Kisa, *loc. cit.*

A vase of red-brown clay is molded in the form of an ape's head. The eyes and ears are carefully modelled. The whole is covered with light color, except the line under the chin, the eyebrows and the ears. The spout flares out at the top. Late Roman work.

471. Trier. Provincial Museum (S. T. 14740). From the Horst-Wessel-Ufer in Trier. S. Loeschcke, *Trierer Zeitschrift*, IX (1934), p. 171, pl. XVIII, 1 (a figure cast from the mold), pl. XXI, 6 (the mold).

One-half of a mold for a vase in the shape of an ape's head. There is a modelled collar around the neck of the animal, the ears, snout, eyes and cheekbones are clearly modelled; the hair on the face is dimly modelled. The ape's face is done with a great deal of accuracy. The neck of the vase is in the top of the animal's head. Ht. 12 cm.



## CHAPTER III

### PAINTINGS AND RELIEFS

(Excluding Vases)

#### A. PAINTINGS AND MOSAICS

These representations are subdivided into four groups.

1. *Minoan frescoes (472-473).*

2. *Etruscan tomb paintings (474-475).*

3. *Hellenistic-Roman wall paintings (476-484).* These paintings are all from Pompeii or Herculaneum.

4. *Mosaics (485-496).* These mosaics are all from empire times. Three rather late mosaics have been included because of their interest.

1. *Minoan frescoes (472-473).*

**472.** Cnossus. From the House of the Frescoes northeast of the Palace. Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, 2 (London, 1928), pp. 447-450, pl. X (in color), fig. 262. Cf. M. Oulié, *Les animaux dans la peinture de la Crète préhellénique* (Paris, 1926), pp. 47-48. M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (New Haven, 1929), p. 70. G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1930), p. 20 (a copy in Room 1, no. 5). Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 368.

A panel has been restored from a great many stucco fragments which are less than a centimeter thick. It represents a blue monkey moving right into a thicket of papyrus sprays, crocus, iris and "sacral" ivy. At the top of the panel a band of blue, red, brown and white. The panel is done on a background of deep Venetian red. The flowers are painted in bright blue, green, red, white and a light brown; the rocks in the lower part are striped and veined to imitate agate. The monkey's head is bright blue on the crown, has a white fillet-like band over the forehead, a pink three leaf clover-shaped ornament at its ear, brown around its eyes and lower forehead, a dark blue outline for the nose, white for the eyes (with a brown pupil), white with blue strokes for the snout

and under part of the face, and a brown spot to mark the nostril. Its right forepaw, on the same fragment as the snout, is bright blue with a dark blue outline. The rest of the body has been restored as light blue with a white outline for the front of the body. The use of five colors marks it as L. M. I (early in the period, 1580-1450, not later than 1550; cf. Evans, p. 448). This is one of the greenish guenons of the genus *Lasiopyga*, sub-genus *Chlorocebus* (Elliot, II, p. 325). The black face and white brow-band are found in several of the species, particularly the tantalus guenon (*Lasiopyga tantalus*, Elliot, 386). The common green guenon (*Lasiopyga callitrichus*, Elliot, 390) with which this is usually identified does not have this band. For a colored plate showing greenish guenons, cf. Brehm, *Tierleben*, IV<sup>4</sup>, opp. p. 518. The greenish tinge of the monkey's hair has been here reproduced by the Minoan artist in blue. In the triumph of Ramses I (1321) little green apes appear among the booty from Ethiopia (cf. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, p. 7). The stucco pavements from Tell-el-Amarna with calves and birds in a setting of marsh grass and papyrus clumps show great similarity in spirit and technique to the Cretan frescoes (W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, London, 1894, pls. III, 2-3; IV, 5-6, cf. Swindler, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30, figs. 63-66). They are from the time of Ikhnaton (Amenhotep IV, ca. 1380-1362). Both of these Egyptian examples may show Cretan influence, just as the subject chosen by the Cretan artist shows Egyptian influence.

473. Cnossus. From the House of the Frescoes northeast of the Palace. Evans, *op. cit.*, II, 2, pp. 447-450, fig. 264. Oulié, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49, no. 21. Richter, *loc. cit.* (Room 1, no. 2). Bonacelli, *loc. cit.* Richter, *loc. cit.* (a copy in Room 1, no. 2). Bonacelli, *loc. cit.*

A second panel which has been successfully restored shows a very similar monkey prying among papyrus stalks, perhaps looking for eggs. It has a long tail, and is stooping over in a typical position. Here much of the body is left, one piece gives the base of the tail and the upper part of the right

hind leg. The blue is lighter, the background is ochreous white. In addition to papyrus, done in blue, yellow, and green, we see reeds and blue crocuses (Evans, fig. 264, gives the colors by shading). There is a band at the top of the panel as before. An unusual feature is that the space containing the monkey is enclosed by a green and brown band of imitative rock-work, which may be paralleled by scenes from the Tomb of Kenamon at Thebes (Evans, p. 448, fig. 263) which is from the time of Amenhotep II (1447-1420).

## 2. Etruscan tomb paintings (474-475).

- 474.** Tomba della Scimmia, one mile northeast of Clusium (Chiusi) (reproductions of the paintings are in the Archaeological Museum at Florence). Braun, *Annali*, XXII (1850), pp. 251-280. *Mon. Ined.*, V (1849-53), pls. XIV-XVI (XV, 2—ape). Helbig, *Annali*, XXXV (1863), p. 342. Brunn, *Annali*, XXXVIII (1866), pp. 429-431. G. Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (2nd ed., London, 1878), II, pp. 330-335. J. Martha, *L'art étrusque* (Paris, 1889), pp. 388-390, fig. 265. O. Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des métaux*, II, 2 (Stockholm, 1904), pl. 237, 1-7 (7 shows the ape). P. Ducati, *L'arte classica* (Turin, 1920), pp. 389-391, figs. 379 a-b. F. Poulsen, *Etruscan Tomb Paintings* (tr. by I. Andersen, 1922), pp. 25-27, 29, 45, fig. 20. Bandinelli, "Clusium," *Mon. Ant.*, XXX (1925), cols. 224, 283, 290, 295-298, 354, fig. 22. M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, p. 250, fig. 413. P. Ducati, *Storia dell'arte etrusca* (2 vols., Florence, 1927), I, pp. 315-316, 380, 412; II, pl. 133, fig. 345. Giglioli, *Studi Etruschi*, III (1929), p. 123. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, pp. 373-377; pl. XVI, 2.

This tomb was discovered by François in 1846. The dromos leads into a large chamber, from which three smaller ones extend. On all four sides of the main chamber is pictured an elaborate series of athletic games. There are victorious athletes holding sprays of myrtle, a chariot race, wrestlers, boxers, and javelin hurlers. Scattered throughout the paintings are several comic figures—boys playing with dogs, dwarfs, and an ape. The ape is seated on a stump under the left lintel of the door opposite the main entrance. It has a collar around its neck, and a chain attached to the collar and fastened to shoots growing out of the stump. In comparison with the humans it would be about three feet tall.

It sits with both hindlegs drawn up, its left forepaw on its chain, its right forepaw and its left hindpaw grasp shoots growing from the stump. The ape is very naturally drawn. Helbig considers this one of the earliest tombs at Chiusi; Poulsen places it at *ca.* 500, but it is probably later, *ca.* 450 (cf. Brunn, and Ducati). There seems to be very little Greek influence in the paintings, but this cannot be used as a sure criterion of date, for that would depend on the taste of the painter.

475. Tomba Golini or the Tomb of the Vetii (sometimes called Tomba dei Sette Camini) near Orvieto (reproductions of the paintings are in the Archaeological Museum at Florence). Brunn, *Bull. d'Inst.*, 1863, pp. 41-53. Cf. Dennis, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 52-61. Conte Giovanni Carlo Conestabile della Staffa, *Pitture Murali—scoperte—presso Orvieto* (Florence, 1865), pp. 31-108, pls. IV-XI (pp. 67-76 and pl. IV are concerned with the ape). Brunn, *Annali*, XXXVIII (1866), pp. 433-435. Martha, *op. cit.*, figs. 266, 279, 281, 292. Ducati, *L'arte classica*, pp. 437-438, figs. 427-428. Poulsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-40, 42, 50, 54, figs. 31-33, 40. P. Ducati, *Etruria antica* (2 vols., Florence, 1927), II, p. 100, pl. XVIII, fig. 35. Ducati, *Storia dell'arte etrusca*, I, pp. 412-416; II, pls. 183-4, figs. 464-466. Swindler, *op. cit.*, p. 253, figs. 423-424. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, pp. 373-377, pl. XVI, 1 (a detail showing the ape).

This tomb was discovered by Domenico Golini in 1863. A short entrance leads into a large chamber containing wall paintings on all sides. A partition wall, parallel to the sides of the tomb, divides the back half of the tomb in two parts. The pictures on the left wall show all the preparations for a banquet, those on the right wall show the banquet of the dead in the presence of the gods of the underworld. On the end of the partition wall opposite the entrance is the picture of an ape in dark yellow climbing a yellow pole, which is topped by a small vase. A red cord is attached to the ape's left leg, and is held by the hand of a man, of whom nothing else remains. The animal is nicely drawn and is probably a Barbary ape, although the snout is sharper than it should be. Conestabile thinks that the pole represents a funeral stele (p. 66) and therefore gives a symbolical meaning to the ape, connecting it with the holy, Egyptian baboon (pp. 67-76). But by comparison with other instances of the occurrence of

the ape, we realize that this is a pet held on leash by one of those buried here: cf. the tame leopard cub under the couch on which recline the brothers, Vel Lecate and Arnth Leinies, Poulsen, *op. cit.*, fig. 31. Perhaps we may even conjecture that the pet belongs to Vel Leinies, son of Arnth, who died at the age of seven, and is pictured standing and dressed in a light-colored sleeved chiton (or tunic): Poulsen, *op. cit.*, fig. 32. This tomb dates early in the fourth century.

### 3. Hellenistic-Roman wall paintings (476-484).

476. Pompeii. The temple of Isis. W. Helbig, *Wandgemaelde der vom Vesuv verschuetteten Staedte Companiens* (Leipzig, 1868), pp. 4-5, no. 5. Cf. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 9. L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, p. 268, note 2.

On the left side-wall of the temple is a picture containing a group of Egyptian animals. Among others the jackal, the ram, the ichneumon, and the ape appear. The ape holds a snake in its paws. The Egyptian character is natural in a transported Egyptian subject.

477. Pompeii. Second room to the right in the Atrium of the House of M. Lucretius (XXXII b, no. 33 on East side of Strada Stabiana). F. M. Avellino, *Bullettino archeologico Napoletano*, VI (1848), p. 5. Helbig, *Wandgemaelde*, pp. 154, 482, no. 778. Stephani, *loc. cit.*

A wreathed Eros hurries toward an altar, to the right is a basket. An animal squats behind the altar, and holds out its forepaws to the basket. It is probably an ape. Ht. of picture, 32 cm., width 15 cm. The background of the picture is violet.

478. Naples. National Museum. From Pompeii. Panofka, "Parodien und Karikaturen," *Abhandl. der k. Akad. der Wissensch. zu Berlin, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1851, p. 5, pl. I, 7. Helbig, *Wandgemaelde*, p. 310, no. 1380 (including some early bibliography). T. Wright, *A History of Caricature and Grotesque in Literature and Art* (London, 1864), pp. 19-22, figs. 11-12. H. Roux-Ainé and M. L. Barré, *Herculaneum et Pompéi: recueil général des peintures*, etc. (8 vols., Paris, 1870-72), VIII, pp. 223-235, pl. 58, l. J. Fleury (pseudonym-Champfleury), *Histoire de la caricature antique* (2nd ed., Paris, 1865), pp. 49-54. W. Helbig, *Untersuchungen ueber die campanische Wandmalerei* (Leipzig, 1873), pp. 28, 346. H. von Rohden, *Die Terrakotten von Pompeji* (Stuttgart, 1880), pl. XXXVII, pp. 48-49, fig. 25. J. Parton, *Caricature and Other Comic Art* (New York, 1877), p. 20. J. Marthas, *L'archéologie*

*étrusque et romaine* (Paris, 1884), pp. 250-251, fig. 105. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 4. Wissowa, *Roem. Mitt.*, V (1890), p. 8. Ihm, *Bonn. Jb.*, XCIII (1892), p. 68. A. Ruesch, *Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Naples, 1908), p. 291, no. 1265. F. Baumgarten, F. Poland and R. Wagner, *Die hellenistisch-romemische Kultur* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1913), p. 160. J. Ziehen, *Berichte der senckenbergischen naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Frankfurt*, XLI (1910), p. 300. S. Reinach, *Répertoire des peintures* (Paris, 1922), p. 176, no. 2. P. Ducati, *L'arte classica* (Turin, 1920), pp. 637-638, fig. 628. A. Springer, *Die Kunst des Altertums* (revised by A. Michaelis and P. Wolters, Leipzig, 1923), p. 418, fig. 796. M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (New Haven, 1929), pp. 274-275, note 30, fig. 444.

This painting was found June 28, 1760, by Gregnano. It represents Aeneas in flight from Troy with his father, Anchises, on his left shoulder, his son, Ascanius, holding his right hand: cf. Virgil, *Aen.*, II, 707-748. The three Trojans are here represented as dog-headed baboons with half-human bodies. Aeneas and Ascanius are ithyphallic and have long tails. Anchises is nude and holds a dice box in his right hand: cf. *Aen.*, II, 717, "tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque penates." Aeneas, clad in a rose cloak, yellow breeches and a cuirass walks to the right and looks back at Ascanius who is nude except for a rose cloak and a Phrygian cap. The background of the painting is black. Ht. 20 cm., breadth 24 cm. This parody is based on Virgil but is influenced by artistic representations of that scene, which were quite popular with artists: e. g. a wall painting from Pompeii, Reg. IX, 13, 5; cf. G. E. Rizzo, *La pittura hellenistico-romana* (Milan, 1929), pl. CXCIV, b: a painted terracotta group from Pompeii, cf. von Rohden, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII: a Roman clay lamp, cf. von Rohden, *op. cit.*, p. 49, fig. 26. The parody figures are apes not humans with the head and feet of dogs (as Panofka and Baumgarten-Poland-Wagner say, cf. von Rohden); nor is the figure of Anchises a bear. The provenience is incorrectly given as Herculaneum instead of Pompeii by Martha, Springer-Michaelis-Wolters, Swindler, and Helbig (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 28, 346).

The painting marks a spirit of anti-imperialism, an attack on the soi-disant descendants of Iulus, i. e. the Julii. The

caricature shows Aeneas as Augustus, the dice-box is a gibe at Julius Caesar's love of gambling. Nor does this caricature attack only the Julii. Virgil too is attacked. We know that a certain Carvilius Pictor had written an *Aeneidomastix* attacking the *Aeneid*, and that this poem was subject to attack because of its imitation of Homer—the use of apes might suggest that Virgil was aping Homer (this use holds in Latin as in English). Ziehen suggests that the painting surely looks back to a similar representation in the theater.

479. Pompeii. The large peristyle of the House of the Dioscuri (VI, IX, 6, Strada di Mercurio, no. 11, 10). Helbig, *Wandgemaelde*, pp. 335, 460, no. 1417. Laglandière, *Bull. d'Inst.*, 1829, pp. 22, 24. Avellino, *Bull. d'Inst.*, 1831, p. i3. Th. Panofka, *Bilder antiken Lebens* (Berlin, 1843), p. 3, pl. I, 6. O. Jahn, *Archaeologische Beitræge* (Berlin, 1847), p. 435. I. Fiorelli, *Pompeianarum antiquitatum historia* (Naples, 1860), II, p. 86 (April 1, 1828). Fausto and Felice Niccolini, *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei*, I (Naples, 1864), "Casa di Castore e Polluce," p. 10, pl. III. Roux-Ainé and Barré, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 73-74, pl. 36. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 3, fig. 1. Th. Schreiber, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities* (Eng. ed., W. C. F. Anderson, London and New York, 1895), pl. LXXXII, 6, p. 157. Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, I, 1 (Paris, 1877), p. 694, fig. 831, s. v. *Bestiae mansuetæ*. R. Cagnat and V. Chapot, *Manuel d'archéologie romaine*, II (Paris, 1920), p. 212.

A naked boy with a green chlamys thrown over his left arm holds an ape by a leash in his left hand, and wields a whip with his right hand. The animal is dressed in a white jacket with a hood and short sleeves. It stands on its hind-paws, with forepaws outstretched to balance its upright position. The snout and paws are realistically painted, the hair is dark brown. The ape, though standing is only half the height of the boy. Presumably its master is making it perform a dance. In the left of the picture is a jug with one handle. The background of the painting is yellow. The beauty of the boy and his nudity mark this as a *genre* picture with Hellenistic influence. Ht. 36 cm.

480. Pompeii. Podium of the amphitheater (now lost). Helbig, *Wandgemaelde*, pp. 375, 483, no. 1519. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 7, note 77.

Five scenes of wild beast fights are painted on the podium

of the amphitheater and are separated by panels decorated by Herms against which palm branches lean: a lioness and a bull spring at each other; a tigress fights with a boar; a deer is followed by a lioness; a bear and a bull are bound together by a cord; a tiger fights with an ape. For these scenes in general cf. F. Mazois and M. Gau, *Les ruines de Pompéi*, IV (Paris, 1838), p. 80; pl. XLVII, 3; and Fiorelli, *op. cit.*, I, 3, pp. 170, 171 (Feb. 12 and March 8, 1815—the ape scene is not mentioned). The background is green. Keller thinks that this is not a representation of a real fight, because the animals are so badly matched. This may be true, but a gorilla would be a good match for a tiger (cf. Pliny, *H. N.*, VIII, 10, who speaks of a *cepus* exhibited at the games of Pompey).

481. Pompeii. The third room from the peristyle in the House of the Wild Boar (XXIX, no. 8, Strada dell' Abbondanza). Helbig, *Wandgemaelde*, pp. 384, 479, no. 1552. Stephani, *loc. cit.*

The picture is very much damaged. An ape (or a dog) stands in a cart drawn by two pigs. It has the reins around its neck.

482. Pompeii. (Lost.) Helbig, *Wandgemaelde*, p. 384, no. 1553 b. Fiorelli, *op. cit.*, I, 1, p. 10 (Sept. 4, 1750). L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, pp. 267-8.

Two apes are drawing a cart in which there is a bowl.

483. Pompeii. Engelmann, *Bull. d'Inst.*, 1872, p. 4. Fr. Wieseler, *Abhandlungen der hist.-phil. Classe der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Goettingen*, XIX (1874), p. 123.

An ape playing a flute is painted in black on a white surface. The head is lost.

484. Naples. National Museum. From Herculaneum. *Antichità di Ercolano*, III (*Le pitture antiche d' Ercolano*, I, Naples, 1757), pp. 249-253, pl. XLVIII. Helbig, *Wandgemaelde*, p. 393, no. 1568. O. Jahn, *Abhandlungen der k. saechsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, XII (Leipzig, 1870), p. 284, pl. III, 9. Springer-Michaelis-Wolters, *op. cit.*, p. 394, fig. 748. Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 377, 2. Swindler, *op. cit.*, p. 306, fig. 483.

In a scene with an Egyptian setting a man is attempting



to pull a stubborn donkey, loaded with eight bottles set in a saddle, away from a crocodile. In the background is an enclosure surrounded on three sides by a covered building. Between this enclosure and the main scene two peasants approach from the left a little chapel, flanked by two trees. On bases at the front are bronze crocodiles, a bronze snake serves as an acroterium. In a free-standing niche is a statue (an Egyptian god?). Behind is a circular chapel on a high podium, cut with a window. On the corner of the podium sits a figure with its back to the spectator, looking over its left shoulder. In the early description of the painting (*Pitture antiche*, I, p. 250) this figure is identified as Anubis in the form of a dog. But the upright squatting position is one which a dog does not assume naturally. Moreover Anubis is generally not a dog, but jackal-headed. The tail which hangs over the podium is short, more like that of a dog than a cynocephalus, and the head lacks the mane of the mature male, but the whole appearance is in general that of a baboon. Such inaccuracies as are present are easily explicable in a picture which is probably a copy of a more famous original. Helbig in his description fails to mention the baboon. Ht. 14 cm., width 54 cm.

This picture is very probably taken from the famous picture by Nealces of a naval battle between the Egyptians and the Persians under Ochus (Artaxerxes III) in which the painter symbolized Persia as an ass and Egypt as a crocodile (Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXV, 142: "Nealces . . . , cum proelium navale Persarum et Aegyptiorum pinxisset, quod in Nilo factum volebat intellegi, argumento declaravit quod arte non poterat: asellum enim bibentem in litore pinxit et crocodilum insidiantem ei"). The Egyptians nicknamed this king "the ass" (*ὄνος*) whereupon he killed the Apis, saying that the ass would feast on their bull: Plutarch, *Moralia*, 363c (*De Iside et Osiride*, 31). The date of these events is ca. 350 B. C., but Nealces may have lived in the third century and have painted this picture to aid Sicyon in conciliating the Egyptians: cf. C. H. Skalet, *Ancient Sicyon* (Baltimore,

1928), pp. 141-142; Muenzer, *Hermes*, XXX (1895), p. 532, note 2; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Munich, 1923), II, pp. 813-814; A. Reinach, *Recueil Milliet: textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne*, I (Paris, 1921), p. 395, note 6.

#### 4. Mosaics (485-496).

485. Praeneste (Palestrina). Palazzo Baronale (one fragment is in the Berlin Museum). S. Pieralisi, *Osservazioni sul musaico di Palestrina* (Rome, 1858), *passim*. Lumbroso, *Rivista di Filologia*, III (1874-75), pp. 200-204 (with a complete bibliography to that date). Maspero, *Gazette archéologique*, V (1879), pp. 77-84. Kaibel, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XIV (*Siciliae et Italiae*, Berlin, 1890), no. 1302, pp. 351-352. Marucchi, *B. Com. Rom.*, XXIII (1895), pp. 26-38, pls. II-III; XXXII (1904), pp. 258-283, fig. 3. Gauckler in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, III, 2 (Paris, 1918), col. 2102, note 14, fig. 5243, s. v. *musivum opus*. Giacomo Lumbroso, *L'Egitto dei greci e dei romani* (2nd ed., Rome, 1895), pp. 14-16 (with an extensive bibliography). R. Delbrueck, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium* (2 vols., Strassburg, 1907-10), I, pp. 50-51, 83-90. R. V. D. Magoffin, *A Study of the Topography and Municipal History of Praeneste* (*The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Series XXVI, nos. 9-10, Baltimore, 1908), pp. 49-50. Vaglieri, *B. Com. Rom.*, XXXVI (1909), pp. 237-239. O. Marucchi, "Il grande musaico prenestino ed il 'lithostroton' di Silla," *Dissertazioni della pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, ser. II, vol. X, I (1910), pp. 149-190, pls. XI-XIV (a huge photograph of the mosaic). R. Engelmann, *Antike Bilder aus roemischen Handschriften* (Leyden, 1909), p. XXV; pl. 29, 4. J. Ziehen, *Berichte der senckenbergischen naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Frankfurt*, XLI (1910), pp. 268-270, figs. 1-3 (details of the mosaic). Pagenstecher, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, XL (1920), pp. 551-552. S. Reinach, *Répertoire des peintures* (Paris, 1922), p. 374. A. Blanchet, *La Mosaïque* (Paris, 1928), pp. 61-62, pl. V (the mosaic is incorrectly cited as at Rome). M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (New Haven, 1929), p. 318, fig. 509. O. Marucchi, *Guida archeologica della città di Palestrina, l'antica Praeneste* (3rd ed., Rome, 1932), pp. 75-85, pl. X. Pieralisi's monograph is accompanied by six large plates, I-IV the complete mosaic in four parts, V the inscriptions, VI some fragments. Most of the illustrations in other books since 1858 are taken from these plates. Two of Marucchi's publications (*Dissertazioni*, etc., 1910, pls. XI-XIV and *Guida*, 1932, pl. X) contain a new and improved photograph of the mosaic.

The large mosaic from the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste was discovered in 1640. The scene is the Nile

at its overflow. In the bottom of the picture we see all sorts of Egyptian buildings, and to the right a group of soldiers has just landed. At the top of the picture we see hunters and all sorts of animals of the Sudan, real and mythical. The mosaic may be copied from some great original in the Nile valley—perhaps by Demetrius, the *topographus* or landscape painter, who may have done pictures like this (cf. Swindler, *op. cit.*, pp. 306, 318). Some of the animals in the top of the picture are labelled with names. These names have caused much confusion because the artist in many cases does not know precisely the animals he is picturing—a fact which leads me to accept the theory that this is a copy of an Egyptian painting or mosaic. Cf. Blanchet, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

Four apes appear upon the mosaic. In the upper left perched in the branches in a clump of trees is a monkey with knees drawn up and snout and paws on knees. To the left of the animal is the inscription  $\text{C}\Phi\text{I}\text{N}\Gamma\text{I}\text{A}$  ( $\sigma\phi\epsilon\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ) (Pieralisi, pl. V, 1), which comes from the word  $\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}$ , which is used quite often by Greek authors for one kind of monkey (cf. Diod., III, 35, 4; Artemidorus from Strabo, XVI, 775, etc.). This word is surely a feminine singular, not a plural (cf. Kaibel, *I. G.*, XIV, 1302, *a*). The inscription is nearer a feline animal on the ground than the ape in the clump of trees, but it is in the first clear space beside the clump, and refers to the monkey. In Marucchi's photograph a wedge in the upper left corner seems to be repeated, so that the clump of trees and the monkey are duplicated; cf. Pieralisi, pl. I. Below is an unlabelled monkey of a similar kind, which is sitting on a rock, with tail stretched out on the rock, right leg hanging down, left leg drawn up, and head bent (Pieralisi, pl. I). In the upper right hand corner is another animal of the same kind except that it has the pointed snout of the cynocephalus—the body is that of a typical monkey—it is squatting with knees drawn up and paws on knees (Pieralisi, pl. II). Below and farther to the right is a different kind of ape with a large, maned head. It is seated on a rock with its left forepaw to the ground, and it seems to be bellowing.

Its shoulders and belly are thick and heavy, its arms are extremely long, its legs short and thin, its snout is leonine (Pieralisi, pl. II). It is a badly proportioned chimpanzee.

In the center of the picture is a group of three wild pigs labelled ΧΟΙΡΟΠΤΙΘ (χοιροπιθήκοι). This is restored as singular by Marucchi (*Guida*, p. 78) and Kaibel (*I. G.*, XIV, 1302, *S*) but the inscription so obviously applies to all three that I give the plural. The scene is split between two plates by Pieralisi (III-IV). On the drawing of the former of these the word shows in full as a singular. However in the drawing of the inscription (pl. V, 18) the letters given above are the only ones which are complete; and although there are some additional broken parts of the next two letters, the last two letters are missing. Aristotle (*H. A.*, II, 11, 2) uses this same word to refer to an ape of uncertain species.

Above is an animal which is obviously feline (Pieralisi, pl. II)—it is labelled ΚΗΤΙΕΝ (Pieralisi, pl. V, 6) which is incorrect, as the word should be connected with κῆβος or κῆπος, cf. Aristotle, *H. A.*, II, 2, 8, 1, etc. Marucchi (*Guida*, p. 77; *Dissertazioni*, 1910, p. 174) wrongly calls it a monkey with the head of a lion. It is connected by Kaibel (*I. G.*, XIV, 1302 *f*) with Pliny, *H. N.*, VIII, 70, but Pliny's description does not fit this animal. Lower and to the right is a lynx (Pieralisi, pl. IV), which has been taken for a monkey; Marucchi, *loc. cit.* It does at first glance look a little like a monkey (the lynx is a kind of monkey in Galen, *de anatom. adm.*, IV, 3, ed. Kuehn, II, p. 430, etc.) but is surely a real lynx of the cat family.

The date of the mosaic cannot be definitely settled. Delbrueck thinks that the mosaic was the gift of Sulla, which is mentioned in the following passage from Pliny: "Lithostrata coeptavere iam sub Sulla; parvolis certe crustis exstat hodieque quod in Fortunae delubro Praeneste fecit" (*H. N.*, XXXVI, 189). But the very passage he cites proves him wrong, for Pliny would never pass over this opportunity to describe this mosaic, had it been in existence, when he wrote the above passage. Therefore it cannot date earlier than the

latter half of the first century A. D.; cf. particularly O. Marucchi, *Dissertazioni*, etc., 1910, pp. 157-165. Marucchi (*B. Com. Rom.*, XXXII [1904], p. 251), basing his ideas on an identification of Isis and Tyche places it about 200 A. D. Vaglieri assigns it to Claudius Aelianus in the second half of the second century A. D. While either of these two dates may be correct, I am inclined to place it in the age of Hadrian. If this theory, for which there is no definite evidence, is true, then the scene in the lower right-hand corner of the landing of soldiers may well picture Hadrian arriving for a tour of Egypt. But any attempt to recognize any specific scene is hopeless. Marucchi (*Dissertazioni*, 1910, p. 167) gives a list of nine proposed interpretations, to which of course he adds a tenth.

486. Collection of Colonial Abria. From a room in the house of the Laberii at Uthina (Oudna). P. Gauckler, *Mon. Piot*, III (1896), p. 183. P. Gauckler, *Inventaire des mosaïques de l'Afrique proconsulaire (Tunisie)* (Vol. II. of *Inventaire des Mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, by G. Lafaye, A. Blanchette, P. Gauckler, and F. G. de Pachtere, Paris, 1909-11), pp. 133-134, no. 392 (with a bibliography). S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, I (Paris, 1914), p. 109, note 1.

Four medallions are set in a mosaic. Each contains an animal—a horse, a serpent, a long-tailed monkey, and a tiger. Colonel Abria found it in 1891 in a room opening from the middle of the west face of the peristyle of a house in Oudna. The last three medallions were in his collection.

487. Perugia (Perugia) in the parish garden of S. Elisabetta. Guardabassi, *Bull. d'Inst.*, 1876, pp. 234-236; *Not. Scav.*, 1876, pp. 183-184; 1877, p. 6, pl. XI. L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, p. 268; 1881, p. 106, no. 38. Gruppe in Roscher, *Lexikon*, III, 1 (Leipzig, 1897-1909), col. 1190, s. v. *Orpheus*. *Bonn. Jb.*, CXVIII (1909), p. 222, note 2. Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 202, 4. M. E. Blake, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XIII (1936), p. 159, pl. 38, fig. 4.

This mosaic, showing Orpheus surrounded by the animals has a light background and is enclosed by two plain dark lines as a border. The upper right and lower right corners are broken and the lower center is damaged. The left half is

about two-thirds destroyed. Orpheus is seated on a rock under a cypress tree; on his left knee is his lyre. The animals are arranged in five horizontal bands, all are headed towards Orpheus. In the unbroken part are seventeen complete animals (a bull, several horses, an elephant, a hyena, a deer, a lion, a panther, a hare, a dog, a goat, a monkey, etc.), and eight incomplete animals (two snakes, a turtle, and five birds). One of the birds is perched on the tree immediately behind Orpheus. Above (to the right, facing left) a monkey stands in the top row, facing Orpheus. It stands on the bottom half of its hindpaws, its snout is long, the back of its head is tufted with hair, and it is ithyphallic. Its tail is quite long, and its forepaws are stretched out as though parodying Orpheus. The right forepaw seems to grasp the tail of a bird. To the left of Orpheus on the highest bough of the tree is an ape in a very queer reclining position with right arm stretched out, left to side, with the toes in both hindpaws definitely marked, but no signs of tail or phallus. The first ape is about one-fourth the size of Orpheus, the second one about one-eighth his size. The mosaic which Guardabassi assigned to the first century A. D. is more probably early second century (as Blake points out).

488. Bardo. Museum. From the frigidarium of the private thermae of the Laberii at Uthina (Oudna). Von Duhn, *Arch. Anz.*, XI (1896), p. 90. Gauckler, *Mon. Piot*, III (1896), p. 219, fig. 12. La Blanchère and Gauckler, *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui* (Paris, 1897), pp. 29-30, no. 148, pl. VIII. S. Gsell, *Mél. Arch. Hist.*, XVIII (1898), p. 102. Gauckler, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Tunisie*, pp. 129-130, no. 381 (with a bibliography). Gauckler in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, III, 2 (Paris, 1918), col. 2108, note 3, fig. 5249, s. v. *Musivum opus*. Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 201, 8. S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, I, p. 109, note 1. Gruppe in Roscher, *Lexikon*, III, 1, cols. 1190-1191, s. v. *Orpheus*. R. Eisler, *Orpheus the Fisher* (London, 1921), pp. 277-280, pl. LXVII. R. Eisler, *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, II, 2 (1922/23), p. 111, fig. 50.

These thermae of the Laberii were excavated by Gauckler (1894-6). The central picture in the floor of the hall shows Orpheus playing his lyre in the center of the charmed animals. Seated on a rock under a tree, Orpheus holds his lyre to the

left with both hands; above are four birds, around him various animals: a lion, a tigress, a gazelle, an ox, a panther, etc. At the bottom below Orpheus a monkey squats to the left, its right forepaw to the ground, its left on its knee, its head turned to look up at Orpheus. The mosaic is broken in five places, due to later buildings. At the top is an inscription giving the names of the owners and of the artist: *Masuri, in his praediis Laberiorum Laberiani et Paulini, Masuri*. The interpretation adopted is that of Gauckler—Gsell (*Mélanges*, XVIII [1898], p. 102) is not convinced that the first and last words of the inscription are the name of the artist (for Masurus cf. Blanchet, *La Mosaïque*, p. 56). Dimensions of the mosaic, 4.5 by 6 metres. The coins found here go from the time of Septimius Severus to the time of Constantine, hence the mosaic is probably late second century work. Eisler's suggestion that this is a place of initiation for the Orphic mysteries seems unlikely.

489. Plates VI-VII. Paris. Louvre, Salle d'Afrique. From Hadrumetum (Sousse). Gauckler, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Tunisie*, p. 58, no. 145 (with a bibliography). Cf. *Bonn. Jb.*, CXVIII (1909), p. 222, note 1. Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 247 (figure). Heron de Villefosse and others, *Catalogue sommaire des marbres antiques; Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1918), p. 107, no. 1798. Gruppe in Roscher, *loc. cit.* R. Eisler, *Orpheus the Fisher* (London, 1921), pl. XXX (with a commentary). R. Eisler, *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, II, 2 (1922-23), p. 14, fig. 6, p. 68, p. 111, note 3.

On this fragmentary mosaic a conventionalized leaf band curves and interlaces, forming openings, in which are a horse, a panther, a lion, a bird, an ape, and part of a bull (in the fragmentary opening below the horse). The ape in the center sits holding in its lap an instrument, which looks like a mandolin. Its left hindpaw is drawn up on its right knee, and around its neck is a collar. The attitude is not that which we generally find in the case of an ape—here the animal is placed in an unnatural position because it is a burlesque of the common scene of Orpheus among the animals. First or second century work. 1.91 by 1.11 metres.

This mosaic and a companion piece were dug up by soldiers

in 1882 and presented to the Louvre. The companion piece, which fitted the top of this mosaic, shows four winged Cupids driving dolphins—an attractive genre picture of a type well known from Pompeian wall-paintings. Eisler shows both mosaics in his figures, and the second mosaic is noted in the *Catalogue sommaire*, p. 107, no. 1797, where the author suggests a parody of the races in the circus, in which races most often there were four chariots, one from each faction. Eisler's commentary on these two mosaics is well worth quoting. "The parodistic representation of Orpheus as an ape compares . . . with the celebrated attack of Gregory of Nazianzus on the Emperor Julian, where he calls this last great Pagan theologian an 'ape' of Christianity. . . . The Christian inspirer of this unique parodistic Orpheus mosaic would characterise Orpheus—evidently because of the similarity between certain Orphic and parallel Christian rites—as an 'ape' mimicking the lyre-playing of the real Eunomos, the 'Logos' alluring his faithful to Mount Zion by the 'new song' of divine reason and the 'fishes' of Orpheus as beings that are driven by their lusts (*erotes*) or passions (*lat. cupidines*) only. The monument—a Christian counterpart to the Pagan caricature of the crucified Christ with the head of a donkey from the Palatine barracks, now in the Lateran Museum—is a document of that hostility between the African Christians and the unconverted votaries of the Dionysian mysteries, which once induced . . . the partakers of the Bacchanalia to penetrate with violence into the Christian cemeteries of Carthage and desecrate the tombs there. On the other hand, even as Wuensch . . . has denied that the ass-headed crucified god of the Palatine is meant as a caricature, explaining it on the contrary as a gnostic picture of the Egyptian god Seth-Typhon, as identified with the crucified Christ, there is just a slight possibility that the ape in the present mosaic may be meant to represent the *kynokephalos*-ape of the Egyptian god Thot, the Lord of Wisdom and patron god of musicians, who could easily be identified with Orpheus by some syncretistic worshipper" (R. Eisler, *Orpheus*, explanation of pl. XXX, this is quoted



by permission of the publisher, John M. Watkins). The reference to Gregory is from the *contra Julianum*, I, 112 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XXXV, col. 649A). Although Eisler has cleverly worked up a case for these mosaics as a hostile parody directed against the Orphic initiates by the Christians, I cannot believe that these two mosaics are Christian. In the first place, the mosaics seem to be too early for such an interpretation. The ape does seem to me to be a parody of Orpheus, but a parody conceived in a light moment by a pagan artist. This light element is apparent in other mosaics: when the ape appears among the animals surrounding Orpheus, it is usually facing Orpheus in what seems to be a parody attitude—hence any artist might easily have obtained in one of the more elaborate mosaics the idea for this mosaic. Moreover as regards the idea that this may be the sacred baboon of Thoth, the animal here bears no resemblance to the cynocephalus. In Eisler's later book it is twice suggested that the complete mosaic of which this is a part contained in the lost middle the figure of Orpheus (*Vortraege*, p. 14, p. 111, note 3). This too seems extremely unlikely, first because the mosaic then would be extraordinarily large, and second because those mosaics which show Orpheus surrounded by the animals are never, so far as I know, cut into parts in this formalized manner (cf. the mosaic from Noiry described below).

490. Panormus (Palermo). H. Heydemann, *Arch. Zeit.*, XXVII (1869), p. 40. Foerster, *Bull. d'Inst.*, 1870, pp. 8-9. L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1881, p. 106, no. 37. Gruppe in Roscher, *loc. cit.* (with a bibliography). Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 201, 2 (with a bibliography). Blanchet, *La Mosaïque*, pp. 73-74, pl. VI.

In this mosaic Orpheus is represented as a young man, clad in a short chiton and mantle with Phrygian cap and shoes. In his left hand he holds a lyre, in his right hand a plectrum. Many animals and birds surround him—e. g. a monkey, an ass, a deer, a bull, a lion, a panther, a turtle, a parrot, a peacock, a raven, etc. The animals are not arranged in definite rows, but each is on its own basis of rock

or ground; one bird is perched on a twig, another on the tree which grows to Orpheus' right. The raven (Apollo's bird) flies over the head of Orpheus. The monkey is seated to the right of Orpheus and on a level with his head. The position of the animal is peculiar; it sits with its legs stretched out, and arms hanging down, and is a typical ape except for the excessive shortness of its arms. Its lethargic attitude is a caricature of the artistic languor of Orpheus. The identification of the monkey as a squirrel by Heydemann, Stephani, and Gruppe is due to the peculiarities noted above. The mosaic decorated a large room behind the atrium of a house. It dates in the middle of the second century A. D.

- 490a. Volubilis (in Mauretania). R. Thouvenot, *Mél. Arch. Hist.*, LIII (1936), pp. 27-28, pl. III, 3 (detail including the monkey). Cf. *A. J. A.*, XLI (1937), pp. 476-477.

An extremely large mosaic pictures Orpheus among the animals. Instead of the ordinary arrangement of the animals around Orpheus, they are placed in groups separated by trees. In the branches of the trees are birds. Among the animals are an elephant, a tiger, a horse, a unicorn, a monkey, etc. The monkey squats on the ground with forepaws outstretched and with tail curled on the ground. Area of the mosaic, 80 sq. meters. Probably second century A. D.—cf. Thouvenot, *loc. cit.*, p. 36, note 1.

491. Morton (near Brading, Isle of Wight). Thos. Morgan, *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements* (London, 1886), pp. 235, 239. W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London, 1935), p. 21 and the frontispiece.

In a circular medallion in the center of a mosaic floor Orpheus is seated playing a lyre which rests on his left knee. His dress is unusual—he wears pants, a tunic with sleeves, a cloak and a Phrygian cap. To the right a bird and a fox, to the left an ape and a peacock. The ape sits instead of squatting—its arms which are unnaturally short are stretched forward. Most interesting of all the ape wears a tiny imitation of a Phrygian cap stuck on the back of its head. Coins of the second half of the third century were found above the mosaic.

492. Carthage. From Oued Atmenia. Ch. Tissot, *Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique*, I (Paris, 1884), pl. III, pp. 495-496. Keller, *Thiere*, pp. 3, 8, note 22.

Three mosaics show Numidian divinities, a garden, and the chase of antelopes. In the garden scene, among tropical trees and shrubbery a woman elaborately dressed and holding a fan is seated on an armless chair to the right. A man standing in the center, dressed in a sleeved tunic and pantaloons, with his left hand holds a parasol over the lady and with his right hand holds the leash of an ape: on the left the ape is squatting with its forepaws between its hindpaws on a stool, which is suspended in some manner about 2 feet above the ground. The animal has a short tail, a dog-like snout, prominent ears, and a collar to which the leash is fastened. The leash is probably leather, although the mosaic work gives it a chain-like look. The ape is about two feet from head to buttocks, if we assume that the man is about six feet tall. The ape is probably a Barbary ape despite the short tail.

493. Noiry. G. Lafaye and A. Blanchette, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule* (Vol. I of *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, by G. Lafaye, A. Blanchette, P. Gauckler and F. G. de Pachtere, Paris, 1909-11), p. 20, no. 782 (with bibliography).

This fragmentary mosaic is divided into squares and surrounded by a band of intertwined white, red and green. Each square is decorated with an animal; originally there were forty-three animals. One of them is a seated ithyphallic ape. The mosaic was found in 1852 in the summit of a plateau which slopes toward Seille, and probably dates in the latter part of the second century A. D.

494. Antioch-on-the-Orontes. W. A. Campbell, *A. J. A.*, XXXVIII (1934), pp. 205-206, pl. XXV, B.

In this mosaic within a geometric pattern is a rectangular scene (about 175 by 94 cm.) showing three standing men clad in tunics. They carry objects whose identification is doubtful. The man to the left has some sort of long-tailed animal of his left shoulder—it may be a monkey or a large cat. The next one carries a stool and a pelt, the third a

slings and a net. Campbell suggests that it may represent a hunting scene or a group of entertainers. This mosaic dates from the fourth century A. D.

495. Istanbul. Museum of Antiquities (excavated by J. H. Baxter in 1935). J. H. Baxter, *The New York Times Magazine* (Nov. 17, 1935), pp. 7, 19 (figure).

In one section of this large mosaic an ape holds with both forepaws a rope which hangs from a date palm. The support of its grasp on the rope holds the animal in an upright position. On its back is fastened a box (birdcage?) on the edge of which a bird perches. The ape has slim limbs and shows all of the characteristics of one of the smaller monkeys, although there are no signs of a tail. By comparison with a child nearby driving two domestic fowl (guinea hens?) the ape is small—probably measuring only two feet in height (if we assume that the child is three feet tall) though it is stretched out by its grasp on the rope. Fifth or sixth century work.

496. Jerusalem (near the gate to Damascus). H. Vincent, "Une mosaïque byzantine à Jérusalem," *Revue biblique*, X (1901), pp. 436-444 (with two plates). J. Strzygowski, "Das neugefundene Orpheus-Mosaik in Jerusalem," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, XXIV (1901), pp. 139-149, pl. 4. O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, I (Berlin, 1909), p. 33 on no. 71. R. Eisler, *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, II, 2 (1922/23), pp. 299-306, fig. 116.

A mosaic found in 1901 shows Orpheus among the animals. He sits facing front holding a rectangular lyre in his left hand. Below to the left is a shaggy-haired centaur wearing the pelt of an animal, to the right is a Satyr with two horns holding a pipe, between them a poorly drawn hare. To the left of Orpheus is an eagle wearing a collar, above it a bear, and a sheep (pig, Vincent and Eisler). Above the head of Orpheus is a snake. Below the lyre is a rat, to its right is a bird, and on it is a peculiarly shaped animal which Vincent calls a salamander, Strzygowski a crocodile or a salamander, Eisler a crocodile, but which Wulff calls a monkey. It stands on one hindpaw on a projection on top of the lyre. The body is hairy, the tail thick. The legs are all short and the body is

thick. The head is like that of a turtle. Projecting from its shoulders is a red line which seems to represent a leash. As Vincent suggests, it seems to have been interrupted by the music in a fight with the snake above the head of Orpheus. The animals in this mosaic are poorly drawn, but this is hardly a crudely drawn monkey. The position is not simian, it may represent a domestic cat or a leashed weasel. The mosaic is done on a white background with brilliant coloring. Orpheus wears a Phrygian cap, a blue tunic, a red cloak and red sandals.

This is the chief design in the floor of a room. A smaller design below contains two haloed women, labelled *Theodosia* and *Georgia*. This smaller design seems to mark the Christian origin of the whole mosaic. Eisler contends that this scene may have Orphic significance and thinks *Georgia* is not a womans' name: A. D. Nock objects to the latter statement in his review, *J. H. S.*, XLVIII (1928), p. 100. Vincent tentatively dates it from the fifth to the seventh centuries A. D. The floor of the room is 5.7 by 3.2 m. The main scene is 2 by 1.24 m.

#### B. RELIEFS

These representations are subdivided into seven groups.

1. *Stone and terracotta reliefs (497-513).*

2. *Terracotta lamps (514-564).* These lamps are all from the Roman imperial period, although in many cases there are not enough data for close dating. In this period many lamps were of local manufacture in imitation of the leading types, so that even those made in Greece may be classified as Roman. It is interesting to note that some of the signatures on a local ware found at Corinth correspond with the signatures on lamps made at the factories in Rome; these lamps were probably made at Corinth by Greek freedmen who had served a slave apprenticeship in the Roman factories; cf. O. T. Brooner, *Terra Cotta Lamps, Corinth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), IV, 2, pp. 97-98.

3. *Bronze reliefs (565-568).*

4. *Gold and silver reliefs (569-577).*

5. *Gems (578-597).* These gems are probably all of Greek workmanship, although they represent in the main oriental or Egyptian subjects, and at least in the case of the four gems from Sardinia were made for foreign buyers. The gnostic gems may well have been made for superstitious Greeks of the third century A. D.

6. *Coins (598-600).*

7. *Seals and seal impressions (601-605).* These examples might have well been classed with the gems, as most of the gems were used as seals. In some of these examples there is some doubt about the identification of the animal as an ape. Apes had no religious significance in Crete, yet they seem here to be cynocephali squatting in an attitude of worship. If we class them as apes, which they probably are, we must assume that the seal cutter merely took scenes or figures he had seen and used them with no account of the religious significance which may be inherent in those scenes or figures. When introducing a cynocephalus into his relief he used the adorant attitude he had seen in examples of Egyptian art. One further seal impression from Cnossus is thought by Matz to belong to this group, but Evans had correctly labelled it as the minotaur, for the head and forelegs are distinctly those of a bull: Fr. Matz, *Die fruehkretenischen Siegel, eine Untersuchung ueber das Werden des minoischen Stiles* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928), p. 116, note 5; Evans, *B. S. A.*, VII (1900-01), p. 18, fig. 7 a. For a somewhat similar use of the ape in Egyptian and Hittite art cf. Matz, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 33, 72, pl. XXIII, 101-3.

1. *Stone and terracotta reliefs (497-513).*

497. From Larisa in Aeolis.

Among the fragments of terracotta reliefs which decorated a temple are the fragments of a banqueting scene. Two lightly clad men recline on a dining couch. They are oriental as to feature; each holds a cup in the shape of a

rooster, and a wineskin lies on the couch beside them. To the right is a servant, wearing a high, oriental headdress, who brings them wine. As reconstructed, we see below the couch a female dog lying on the floor and a rooster. To the left a long-haired figure (male?) blows on a double flute. Immediately in front of this figure a smaller figure crouches on the floor. It is seated toward the couch but looks front. The head is badly broken, and the hands are missing. When found there was white paint on the body and black paint on the hair. This paint is no longer visible. The proportions of the figure are apelike; the calf of the leg is thin and short, the rump is scanty, the length from rump to shoulder is excessive. In addition the crouching position, so like an ape's position, is noteworthy. This figure has been identified as an ape; but in view of the paint found on the body it seems certain that it is a poorly represented child. In this I agree with Professor L. Kjellberg who supplied me with information and allowed me to examine photographs of the material in question. Sixth century B. C. Part of the relief is shown in *Arch. Anz.*, XLIX (1934), col. 386, fig. 15.

498. From Aegina. Salomon Reinach, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie mineure sous la direction de M. Philippe Le Bas* (Paris, 1888), p. 103, pl. 110, 5. Cf. *Bonn. Jb.*, CXVIII (1909), p. 222.

On a narrow fragmentary relief a boar has thrown a large cat (lioness?). Reinach in his text calls it an ape (?), but, although the head does look apelike, the paws and the general body proportions mark it as a cat. Length of fragment 21 cm.

499. Plate V, 2. Berlin. Antiquarium (Inv. 31276). From Egypt.

A female gorilla, holding two young gorillas, sits on a rock at the opening of a cave. The cave is formed by roughly modelled rocks to the right, which are broken off above the gorilla. The animal sits facing front. The head is very large with indentations around the forehead to mark the hair. The forehead recedes and is marked by a deep furrow. The eyes are large and the pupils are marked by indenta-

tions. The nose is very broad and flat, the mouth is partly open and negroid, the chin is almost lacking, the neck is extremely thick. The forequarters are extremely heavy, the arms are long and heavy, the breasts and *genitalia* are plainly marked, the belly is protuberant. The animal sits with knees apart and hindpaws spread to either side. The upper legs are hairy but not particularly heavy; from the knee down they are hairy and very heavy. The hindpaws which rest on the ground are marked by their size, hairiness, and long digits. The forepaws are similar to the hindpaws. The animal holds a young one to its right breast with its right forepaw. This young one crouches in the hollow of its mother's arm in typical apelike manner. In its left arm the old gorilla holds another, older young one which seems quite human in appearance.

Many of the details of this terracotta group (particularly the forehead, the belly and the appearance of the second young one) might point to a caricatured, negroid type. However, more important items mark this as a representation of a female gorilla; the shoulders are extremely heavy; the breasts are small in comparison to the other parts of the body; the first young one has a definite apelike appearance; the whole body gives an impression of brute strength rather than obesity; and particularly the lower legs, the forearms, and all four paws are those of a gorilla, not of a caricatured human. Dr. Robert Zahn to whose courtesy I owe two photographs of this terracotta relief is of the opinion that it is a gorilla. Hellenistic work. Ht. 10 cm.

500. From Carthage. P. Delattre, *C. R. Acad. Insc.*, 4th series, XIII (1885), p. 102. S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, I, p. 109, note 1.

On a stele carved in relief a monkey is climbing up a palm tree. This is one of a group of 26 votive stelae of Punic design from Carthage. The stelae are dedicated to Tanit-Pene-Baal and to Baal-Hammon.



501. Paris. Louvre. Formerly in the Collection of Count Michele Tyskiewicz. Acquired at Naples in 1881, probably from South Italy. Helbig, *Bull. d'Inst.*, 1882, p. 34. Cf. G. Wissowa, "Parodia d'una scena di scuola," *Roem. Mitt.*, V (1890), pp. 3-11, pl. I. Winter, *Typen*, II, p. 411, fig. 7. H. W. Johnston, *Private Life of the Romans* (first edition, New York and Chicago, 1903), fig. 27. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, I, p. 5. E. Courbaud in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, III, 2 (Paris, 1918), pp. 1380-1382, fig. 4648, s. v. *Ludus*, *Ludi-magister*.

This relief in rose-colored terracotta has a scene with ten figures. (1) In the left center an ass is seated on a chair of the throne type. It looks with comic gravity to the right. Clothed in a toga and tunic, it holds a roll in its left forefoot, and grasps the *sinus* of its toga with its right—its feet are on a stool. Its chair is on a platform which is raised above the base, which is pierced with two holes, by means of which the terracotta plaque was hung on a wall. (2) On the platform to the left of the ass stands a nude ape, head bent down to its left shoulder, holding a writing tablet to its breast. (3) Below the platform is an ape with a long snout, nude except for a ruff around its neck. It looks to the right with a glance full of shame. (Helbig considers this animal a bear; Wissowa an ape.) (4) On the platform to the right of the ass stands a taller, nude, ithyphallic ape, which holds a writing tablet over its left shoulder. (5-10) To the right are six *cynocephali* seated in two rows of three each. They are clothed in tunics, and each one holds a tablet on its knees with both forepaws; their feet are apelike.

The whole scene as Wissowa says, is a parody of school life; the ass (1) is the teacher; the nude apes to the left (2-3) are boys being punished for stupidity or lack of preparation; the standing nude ape (4) is a pupil reciting; the seated *cynocephali* (5-10) are students about to take notes. One might expect to see the teacher sitting on a *cathedra* rather than a *solium*. Courbaud thinks that figure four is about to administer punishment to the delinquents—this is quite possible. Helbig has the interesting but incorrect explanation that this is a scene in law court. Since the plaque may be dated in the first century A. D., he considers it a

parody of Claudius dispensing justice (cf. Suetonius, *Claudius*, 14-15). The figures would then be thus identified: (1) Claudius; (2-3) the defendants; (4) the accuser or informer; (5-10) the board of *iudices*. But even though the accuser and the defendants might be nude, the *iudices* would surely be wearing togas, not merely tunics.

502. Rome. Museo delle Terme (496). Helbig, *Fuehrer durch die Sammlungen in Rom* (third edition, Leipzig, 1912-13), II, pp. 180-181, no. 1424.

A monkey with a long tail and a hairy body is standing in a *biga* drawn by two galloping camels. The monkey, which seems to Helbig to verge on the cynocephalus type, hold the reins in both hands. This may be a phantasy, but is more likely reminiscent of a theater performance.

503. Rome. Museo delle Terme. From Ariccia. R. Paribeni, *Not. Scav.*, 1919, pp. 106-112 (with a plate). F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (4th edition, Paris, 1929), pl. VIII, 2 (opp. p. 90). F. Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike* (Halle, 1926), pp. 21-22, fig. 19.

A marble relief, found in an inhumation grave, represents a dance in an Egyptian temple. The relief is divided horizontally into two parts. The lower, wider section shows the dance in the temple. At the extreme right a *telamon* in the form of a rigidly designed male figure of a god (Osiris?) supports the upper section. Five figures stand on a platform, facing the center and encouraging the dancers with hand-clapping. In front of the platform an emaciated old man, clad in a loin cloth, claps his hands; three large-hipped women, wearing diaphanous robes dance with great vigour and abandon. Two of the women are holding castanets. Next two deformed dwarfs and an old man holding two sticks (a double flute?) are dancing. Below are six ibises. In the upper portion of the relief is a series of statues and build-ings to represent, as Cumont suggests, the sacred enclosure around the temple. At the right between pillars is a bearded male statue (Serapis?); then between two palm trees a circular sanctuary with a rounded roof, in which is a standing statue of a goddess. Next a statue of the bull Apis stands

facing the center in the open air on a high pedestal. The center is occupied by a portico with seven openings. The center opening is larger and higher than the others. In it a female figure (Isis?), reading a scroll, sits on a *cathedra* between two incense burners. In the second and sixth openings the grotesque Bes sits, facing the front, on a round pedestal. In the other openings, likewise on round pedestals four dog-headed baboons squat turned toward the statues of Bes. The animals have their forepaws on their knees and their tails curling up behind. The relief is broken obliquely at the left, but we may assume that in the lower part there is another platform at the left and another telamon; and that in the upper part the bull, the sanctuary and the statues between pillars are repeated. Counting the seated female figure as the center of the relief the measurements are 50 by 149 cm.

The identification of three of the figures as Osiris, Serapis and Isis is not certain, but the presence of the Egyptian elements—the baboons, Bes and the ibises—mark the setting as Egyptian. Paribeni pointed out that it contains many burlesque elements—the negroid features of the characters in the lower scene, the large hips of the three women dancers, the choice of Bes and the baboons as parts of the upper scene, and the presence of dwarfs. The Greeks and Romans, while recognizing the ancient culture of the Egyptians, were quick to caricature and deride elements which seemed ridiculous to them. Moreover the Greco-Roman character of the work is marked not only by lack of knowledge of Egyptian ideas, shown in the absence of distinct attributes in the deity statues and in the strange juxtaposition of the parts of the relief, but also by the realism of the work and by such a typically Roman item as the garlands on the platform in the lower scene.

The question now arises—would a worshipper of Isis have such an irreverent scene placed on his tomb? Paribeni using as a parallel Apuleius' description of a procession of Isis, in which burlesque elements appear (*Metamorphoses*, XI, 8) concludes that the scene is not inconsistent as a funeral monu-

ment of a follower of Isis. So far I agree, but I do not believe with him that the seated female figure is the *devotée* of Isis reading the sacred word—it seems more probable that it is Isis herself. Period of Hadrian.

504. Copenhagen. From Italy. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, I, p. 4, fig. 1. J. Ziehen, *Berichte der senckenbergischen naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Frankfurt*, XLI (1910), p. 277, fig. 6 and p. 301, note 5. W. Altmann, *Die roemische Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin, 1905), p. 265.

A Roman grave relief with the inscription at the left broken (seven letters remain). A monkey squats to the left, but looks front—it is eating something, holding it to its mouth with its right forepaw. Its tail stretches across the front, its left forepaw is on its left leg. The work is very naturalistic, showing all the anatomical details but exaggerating the length of the hindpaws.

505. Keller, *op. cit.*, I, p. 4.

A Roman relief showing an ape plucking at the corner of its master's garment.

506. Stockholm. The National Museum (no. 269). H. Heydemann, *Arch. Anz.*, XXIII (1865), p. 154\*, no. 22. Fr. Wieseler, *Philologus*, XXVII (1868), p. 237. L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, p. 267. O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, I, p. 4. O. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 2, note 19. Altmann, *loc. cit.*

The *cippus* of Caecilia Tyche and Ti. Claudius Fortunatus is decorated by a relief in which a boy with fruit in his arms is playing with an ape (Wieseler calls it a squirrel). The composition is good, but the boy's head is unnaturally large.

507. Rome. Villa Borghese (formerly in the Villa Giulia). Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* (2nd ed., Paris, 1722), V, pl. XXXIX. A. Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.*, XXIV (1866), cols. 146-150, pl. CCVII, 4. Cf. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 2, note 19. E. Platner and others, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, III, 3 (Stuttgart and Tuebingen, 1842), pp. 232-233, no. 26. L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, pp. 87, 266 (further bibliography in note 1, p. 87). Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, I, 1 (Paris, 1877), pp. 693-694, note 103, s. v. *Bestiae mansuetae*. S. Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs grecs et romains*, III (Paris, 1912), p. 174, 1. Dessau, *C. I. L.*, XIV (Berlin, 1887), no. 2717

Altmann, *op. cit.*, no. 284, pp. 218-219, 265, fig. 179. R. Cagnat and V. Chapot, *Manuel d'archéologie romaine*, I (Paris, 1917), p. 612.

On the grave stone of C. Julius Saecularis is a scene showing the boy surrounded by his pets. In the lower part of the relief the inscription is flanked by two Cupids. In the main scene the boy, nude except for sandals and a cloak, fastened at the neck, stands and holds a butterfly in his right hand, and a bird (dove?) in his left. To the boy's left is a candelabrum, topped by a lion's head and bound with foliage: to his right is a tree with a bird in its foliage, and two butterflies fluttering nearby. Between the tree and the boy is a dog; between the candelabrum and the boy is a monkey. The monkey squats on its hindpaws and left forepaw, and clutches its master's cloak with its right forepaw. The animal's head is restored, the tail is bushy. Early empire work.

507a. Perugia. The Museum of the University. E. Bormann, *C.I. L.*, XI (Berlin, 1888), no. 2031. Altmann, *op. cit.*, no. 254, pp. 186-187, 265-266.

On the left, shorter side of the grave-altar of Annia Cassia is a relief of a laurel tree. On the tip of the tree sits an ape, two birds are in the tree, and below a fox has caught a bird. Bormann does not mention the ape.

507b. Altmann, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

An ape appears on the grave stone of Messia Graphica.

508. Lepcis Magna. A. Merlin, *Revue Tunisienne*, nouv. sér., III, no. 9 (1932), pp. 64-65.

A relief carving of a monkey eating a bunch of grapes, which a silenus, riding on an ass, is handing to it. This scene occurs on one of two reliefs decorated with Dionysiac scenes. These reliefs are in the apsidal end of a basilica built for Lepcis Magna by Septimius Severus and his sons.

509. Pettau. The Market. Alexander Conze, "Roemische Bildwerke einheimischen Fundorts in Oesterreich," II, *Denkschriften der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Classe*, XXIV (Vienna, 1876), pp. 59-67, pls. V-VI. Cf. *Bonn. Jb.*, CXVIII (1909), p. 223 (note).

A large marble gravestone is elaborately decorated with

relief. Of the reliefs, which decorate the sides, the top, and the front, the most important are the two which are immediately above and below the inscription. The one below which is badly damaged represents Orpheus before Hades. The inscription is almost illegible. Above it in high relief is a representation of Orpheus among the animals. The musician wearing a Phrygian cap and loosely girt in a flowing robe sits on a rock, holds a lyre with his left hand and plays it with his right. Among the animals are a camel, an elephant, a lion, etc. In the extreme upper right-hand corner an ape squats and looks left, facing the musician. The ape's snout is pointed and its forepaws are on the ground before it. Above the scene in lower relief is a line of birds, below a line of animals. The complete stone measures: ht., 4.94 m.; width, 1.82 m.; thickness, .39 m. The work is fairly well-executed provincial Roman.

510. Athens. The Byzantine Museum (formerly in the National Museum). From Aegina. Pervanoglu, *Arch. Anz.*, XVIII (1860), p. 51. Brunn, *Bull. d'Inst.*, 1860, p. 57. L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1881, p. 102, no. 6. J. Strzygowski, *Roem. Quart.*, IV (1890), pp. 104-105, pl. VI. Schultze in A. Heussner, *Die altchristlichen Orpheusdarstellungen* (Cassel, 1893), p. 41. *Bonn. Jb.*, CXVIII (1909), p. 222, note 2. J. N. Svonoros, *Das athenere Nationalmuseum* (German ed. by W. Barth, Athens, 1908-13), pl. CLXXII. G. Sotiriou, *Guide du Musée byzantine d'Athènes* (French ed. by O. Merlier, after the 2nd Greek edition, Athens, 1932), pp. 36-37, no. 93, fig. 17. R. Eisler, *Vortraege der Bibliothek Warburg*, II, 2 (1922/23), p. 14, note 4, p. 19, p. 111, note 2, pl. II, fig. 12.

On a white marble slab, rounded and coming to a point at the top, the scene of Orpheus surrounded by numerous animals is carved in high relief. Orpheus wears a cloak the end of which falls over his left shoulder, and a Phrygian cap and sandals. He is seated on a knoll, and is playing on the lyre. He has a huge plectron in his right hand and holds the lyre on his left knee with his left hand: a band over his left shoulder seems to help support the lyre. He is beardless and the hair on his forehead is arranged in round knobs. Among the animals are a lion, a tiger, an elephant, a panther, a giraffe, several birds, and a sphinx. On the cap of the musi-

cian is an eagle with wings spread. On one bar of the lyre is an owl looking to the front. On the other bar an ape squats with its left forepaw on its left knee and its right forepaw to its right eye. The ape which is facing the musician is in comparison with him about a foot in height, but all of the animals are extremely small in comparison to Orpheus. The scene so far is in extremely high relief and the animals form a sort of rim around Orpheus, standing upon one another and leaning against him or his lyre. Below his feet is a band of low relief, showing a ram, a tortoise, a lizard, etc. Below this is a formalized basis having on its front a low relief on which a lion tears a roebuck. The head of Orpheus resembles the typical head of Christ in fourth-century art. Pervanoglu places the relief in Christian or Byzantine times. Sotiriou says that the figure is probably symbolic of Christ attracting the Pagans. Ht. 110 cm., width 45 cm. (The dimensions given by Eisler, p. 19, are incorrect.) The whole relief is cut from one piece of marble.

**511.** Istanbul. Tschinili-Kiosk. Strzygowski, *Roem. Quart.*, IV (1890), p. 106. *Bonn. Jb.*, CXVIII (1909), p. 222, note 2.

A relief very similar to the preceding one. It is in very bad condition—many of the details, including the lyre, are broken off. Some of the remaining animals are different. The similarity of the two makes it probable that an ape crouched on the lyre as in the preceding relief. On the stone below Orpheus' feet, a hound chasing a hare; a horse and a wild pig. Between the two animals in the latter group, at some later time a cross was roughly chiselled in.

**512.** Plate VIII. Found at Sabratha (Sabrata in Tripoli).

A somewhat similar relief does not have the sculpture in low relief at the bottom. The details of the animals which surround Orpheus like an arch are not sharp in execution. An eagle with spread wings is in the foliage above Orpheus. The musician is clad in a robe and sandals, and wears a Phrygian cap. On the bar of his lyre squats an ape. The most surprising thing in the relief is the extreme youth of

Orpheus—he is portrayed as a boy of about twelve with a chubby face and thick hair showing in curls below the rim of his cap. There is no possible resemblance to the Good Shepherd in this relief.

513. Berlin. Kaiser Friederichs Museum. From Mallawi. Strzygowski, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, XXIV (1901), p. 148, fig. 18. Oskar Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, I (Berlin, 1909), pp. 32-33, no. 71 (figure).

A fragment of lime-stone carved in high relief. The full stone showed Orpheus with the lyre surrounded by animals. Only the upper right of the relief remains—the lyre, the tail and hindquarters of an animal sitting on the lyre, a snake, a bearded satyr, two animals and a bird. Wulff calls the animal on the lyre a monkey or a squirrel, but it is probably the former. 47 by 40 cm.

## 2. Terracotta lamps (514-564).

514. London. British Museum. Towneley Collection. H. W. Walters, *Catalogue of Lamps in the British Museum* (London, 1914), p. 103, no. 679, pl. XVI. Cf. H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery* (New York, 1915), II, pl. LXV, 2. *A Guide to the Exhibition Illustrating Greek and Roman Life—British Museum* (2nd edition, London, 1920), pp. 218-219, no. 665, fig. 256. Fritz Fremersdorf, *Roemische Bildlampen* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1922), p. 94.

A lamp with a wide nozzle and molded rim, within which a juggler (*circulator* or *praestigiator*) is seated. He is seated in front view, but looks to the left at a monkey squatting on the ground beside him. The juggler has his knees drawn up, holds a short stick in his left hand, and some object (a cake?) in his right hand. He wears a tunic draped over his right shoulder and left arm. To the right by his head are two interlocking rings. At his left foot are a loaf of bread, a pot (*acetabulum*) and a cyathus. To the right a dog (? or weasel) is clinging to a ladder with ten rungs. The monkey's snout is pointed, its tail is short, its hair is marked by parallel molded lines, its right forepaw is on its knees, its left touches its master's arm. Red glaze, much



worn; the pour hole is immediately above the pot. First century A. D. Length 12.6 cm., diameter, 8.9 cm.

515. Collection of the Marquis d'Anselme. From Carthage. Delattre, "Les cimetières romains superposés de Carthage," *R. Arch.*, XXXIII (1898), p. 233, no. 95, fig. 30. Cf. H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, II, p. 418, note 5. Fremersdorf, *loc. cit.*

A lamp very similar to the preceding example except that the ape has no tail.

516. Cologne. The Collection of F. Fremersdorf (76F, 3537). From a quarry at Weisenau (1914). Fremersdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 36, fig. 41; pp. 93-94 (type 23, figure); p. 137, fig. 97.

As above. The design is not sharp. The lamp is fragmentary, but the ape is complete. Yellow clay with red varnish. Diameter 6 to 7.3 cm.; Ht. 2.7 cm.; length 9.9 cm. without the handle.

517. Cologne. The Collection of F. Fremersdorf. From a quarry at Weisenau (1912). Fremersdorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11, figs. 4, 17.

As above. The lamp is fragmentary, the lower and right portions of the scene are missing. The restoration gives the ape a short tail as in the example in the British Museum—this restoration is problematical.

- 518-519. Mainz. Museum. From a quarry at Weisenau (1913). Fremersdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 14, fig. 9, nos. 25-26; p. 94.

As above. Both are fragmentary, but show the ape in full. Yellow clay with reddish brown varnish.

520. Bingen. Museum (no. 1351). From Bingen. Fremersdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

As above. Diameter 5.8 to 7.3 cm.; Ht. 2.4 to 2.6 cm.; L. 9.9 cm. without the handle. Made at Weisenau.

521. Trier. The Provincial Museum (no. 5167). Fremersdorf, *loc. cit.*

In general as above. Light yellow clay.

522. Nijmegen. The Kam Collection. Fremersdorf, *loc. cit.*

As above.

- 523.** Wiesbaden. Museum (no. 09.280). From Hofheim. Ritterling, "Das fruehroemische Lager bei Hofheim im Taunus," *Nassauische Annalen*, XL (1913), p. 266, no. 12; pl. 29, no. 21. Fremersdorf, *loc. cit.*

As above. Yellow mealy clay with traces of varnish. The design on the discus is damaged but the figures are unmistakable.

- 524 527.** From Vindonissa (nos. 17.483, 13.346, 13.99, 14.346). S. Loeschcke, *Lampen aus Vindonissa* (Zuerich 1919), p. 487, note 462a, no. 11. Fremersdorf, *loc. cit.*

As above. The design of the third is sharply marked.

- 528.** Rheydt. Museum (no. 24). From Cologne. Fremersdorf, *loc. cit.*

As above. White clay.

- 529.** Cologne. The Wallraf-Richartz Museum (no. 902). From a grave in the Luxemburgstrasse. Fremersdorf, *loc. cit.*

As above. There are two holes for oil. White clay.

- 530.** Cologne. The Lueckger Collection. From Cologne. Fremersdorf, *loc. cit.*

As above. White clay.

- 531.** Leyden. Rijksmuseum. From Smyrna. Johanna Brants, *Antieke terra-cotta lampen uit het Rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden* (Leyden, 1913), p. 22, no. 295, pl. III. Fremersdorf, *loc. cit.*

As above. Brants misinterprets this as a scene showing a man sitting between a child and a tree (the "child" is the ape, and the "tree" is the ladder). Reddish varnish. Length, 11 cm.

- 532.** Heidelberg. The Collection of the Archaeological Institute of the University of Heidelberg (no. 206). Fremersdorf, *loc. cit.*

As above. The design is in sharp and high relief. Fragmentary.

- 533.** Knin. Museum. Found at Scardona in 1896. Carl Patsch, *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, VII (1900), p. 114, no. 46, fig. 105. Fremersdorf, *loc. cit.*

A fragment of a similar lamp. Of the design only the dog (?) climbing the ladder and the two rings are preserved,

but it must be a lamp with a similar design. As Fremersdorf pointed out, Patsch misinterpreted the scene. Patsch's figure shows the fragment on its right side, and he conjectured that it might be the she-wolf of the story of Romulus and Remus. Red varnish. Ht. of fragment, 6 cm.; width, 3.3 cm.

534. Wuerzburg. Antikensammlung der Universitaet. L. Ulrichs, *Verzeichniss der Antikensammlung der Universitaet* (Wuerzburg, 1865), p. 39, no. 37. Cf. Walters, *Catalogue of Lamps*, p. 103.

As above. Fine red clay.

535. Tunis. Alaoui Museum. From Henchir-el-Attermine (1915). A. Merlin and R. Lautier, *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui*, 2nd supplement (Paris, 1922), p. 212, no. 2000.

As above. The design is damaged.

536. Brussels. Ravestein Museum (702, formerly in the library of the Commendator dal Pozzo). P. Bartoli et J. Bellori, *Lucernae veterum sepulcrales iconicae* (ed. by L. Beger, Colonia Marchica, 1702), III, p. 5, pl. 17. O. Jahn, *Archaeologische Beitraege* (Berlin, 1847), p. 435. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 5, note 49. Th. Schreiber, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities* (English ed. by W. C. F. Anderson, London and New York, 1895), pl. LXXVIII, 4. H. T. Peck, *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities* (2nd ed., New York, 1897), p. 350, s. v. *circulator* (figure). Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, I, 1 (Paris, 1877), p. 23, fig. 45, s. v. *acetabulum*. Fremersdorf, *loc. cit.*

On this lamp a juggler is seated on a bank, and is clothed in a tunic. He holds an object (food?) in his left hand and points with the index finger of his right hand. The ape, to his left, looks up at its master and places its right paw on its master's arm. At the juggler's right foot are a bowl (*acetabulum*) and seven balls. On the left are two interlocking rings and an eleven-rung ladder up which a dog (?) climbs. The ape is like the animal on the preceding lamp. This scene is quite like the one on the preceding lamps, the reversal of the picture might well come from copying a finished lamp in making a mold. The pour hole is under the juggler's feet.

537. Knin. Museum. Found at Scardona in 1896. C. Patsch, *loc. cit.*, p. 114, no. 47, fig. 106.

The discus of a clay lamp is decorated with the scene of a monkey fishing. The animal sits facing right with its left leg drawn up, and its right extended in front. With both forepaws it holds a fishing rod, on the line of which is a fish. The pour hole is in the center. Patsch calls it a man, but this is not possible because the bushy tail is plainly marked and the extended leg is extremely ape-like. Moreover the proportions are all simian. Length (including the handle), 9.7 cm.; width, 6.7 cm.; height, 3.8 cm.

538. London. British Museum. From the Cyrenaica (found by Dennis). H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Lamps in the British Museum*, p. 113, no. 750, fig. 137.

Two fragments of a Roman lamp. Within a molded rim an erect ape, carrying two branches of grapes on a stock over its shoulders, moves to the left. The ape wears a loin cloth and is rather manlike, so it may be, as Walters suggests, a pygmy. I think that the maker probably was somewhat confused and mixed the attributes of the two (cf. Scholiast to Oppian, *de piscatione*. I, 623) but that the ape-like qualities predominate. Worn red glaze. First century A. D. Diameter 8 cm.

539. From a Roman fortress near Cruciniacum (Kreuznach). O. Kohl, "Ausgrabungen am roemischen Kastell bei Kreuznach," *Bonn. Jb.*, CXX (1900), p. 311, fig. 10.

A three spout lamp of reddish-yellow clay, 12 by 11 by 3.5 cm. The clay is thin, the openings are small. The circle of the discus is broken towards the spouts by two round protuberances on each side. An owl sits to the left facing right; below it is a lizard; an ape sits facing left. The ape is seated with its left paw around its left knee, and has a short tail. Its right hand holds a pipe to its mouth.

540. Tunis (city). Alaoui Museum. From Carthage (Excavations of 1896). Delattre, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie d'Hippone* (Bone, Algiers, 1897), p. XLIII, no. 51.

On a Roman lamp an ape is playing on a flute.

- 541-542. Athens. National Museum. Fr. Wieseler, *Abhandl. der hist.-phil. Classe der k. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Goettingen*, XIX (1874), p. 123.

On two lamps apes are represented blowing on flutes.

543. Plate IX, 2. Tunis. Alaoui Museum. Du Coudray la Blanchère and P. Gauckler, *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui* (Paris, 1897), p. 178, no. 307.

A lamp which is decorated with a relief shows a crouching ape. To fit into the discus of the lamp the ape is modelled with its forepaws dangling over its knees, and its snout almost resting on its forepaws. The modelling of the head is clear. The animal is a Barbary ape. The lamp, which is unbroken, has a wide rim and two incised circles around the discus. On the reverse are two footprints.

544. Corinth. Oscar T. Broneer, *Terra Cotta Lamps, Corinth*, IV, 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), pp. 205-206, no. 703 (232), fig. 139.

A fragment of a lamp on which is the figure of Orpheus playing his lyre and surrounded by animals—a crab, an ox, a horse, a deer, a snake, a crane, a dove, and a duck. Just above the lyre is a monkey, flanked by an uncertain figure. Some of the animals have been broken away. Pale yellow clay, unglazed. The modelling is fair, the picture crowded (Broneer says "The relief is exquisitely modelled!"). The ape crouches, and looks at Orpheus. Its arms are long, its body short, its paws are on its knees. It is about one-sixth the size of Orpheus. The lamp is type XXVI (cf. Broneer, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-102) and is of local Corinthian manufacture, second century A. D. The lack of glaze is probably due to the inability of the potter to make it adhere to the clay, as in earlier times this same difficulty hampered the Corinthian vase industry.

545. London. British Museum. From the Temenos of Demeter at Cnidus (Newton, 1859). Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 191, no. 1265, fig. 281.

A Roman clay lamp (Cnidian type), fire-marked with one spout; a plait band at the base. A pantheress, whose body is covered with stamped circles, walks to the left, and holds the head of an ape in its right front paw. This identification of

the ape which Walters considers doubtful is probably correct. The size of the head would indicate an ape, and the fiercer members of the cat family are often mentioned as the enemies of the ape (the lion, Aelian, *N. A.*, V, 39; the panther, Aelian, *N. A.*, VIII, 6; etc.). Second century A. D.

546. Brussels. Ravestein Museum (706). Cf. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 5, note 60.

A clay lamp on which a monkey has torn off its chains and has seized a nude boy, who shrieks and struggles to break loose.

547. From Puteoli. Formerly in the possession of Raffaele Barone. G. Minervinini, *Bullettino archeologico Napoletano*, II (1844), p. 138, no. 12. Cf. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 5, note 55.

A clay lamp on which an ape is tied with a chain. It grasps a nude woman who stands near it.

548 549. Brugg. Vindonissa Museum. From Brugg (found in a rubbish heap when the Baden-Brugg railroad was built in 1855). S. Loeschke, *Lampen aus Vindonissa* (Zuerich, 1919), pp. 232 (44), 410 (222), nos. 611-2; pl. XII.

On a lamp two apes are represented in a boat. One of them sits (at the left) facing to the right, and wielding an oar. The other looks back to its companion and places a paw on the prow of the boat. The first ape has a blunt snout, the second a pointed, dog-like snout. The pour hole is below the boat. The lamp is dated by Loeschke in the last half of the first century A. D. The clay is yellow with yellowish-brown varnish. The diameter of the lamp, 6.7 cm.—of the disk, 4.3 cm. Inventory no. 2913. There are two fragments of a similar lamp. Inventory numbers, 13 and 27.

550. Leyden. Rijksmuseum. From north Africa. Brants, *op. cit.*, p. 28, no. 428, pl. IV.

As above. Length 11 cm.—brownish-red.

551. Tunis. Alaoui Museum. From Carthage (excavations of 1896). Delattre, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie d'Hippone* (Bone, Algeria, 1897), p. LXV, no. 253. Delattre, *R. Arch.*, XXXIII (1898), p. 232, no. 73. Cf. Stulfauth, *Roem. Mitt.*, (1898), p. 300, note 1. H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, II, p. 419, note 11.

In the design of a Roman clay lamp is a small ship, on which are two apes, of which one is rowing.

552. Passeri Museum (in 1751). Giovanni Battista Passeri, *Lucernae fictiles Musei Passerii*, III (Pisaurum, 1751), pp. 25-26, pl. XX. O. Jahn, *Archaeologische Beiträge* (Berlin, 1847), p. 435. Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, I, 1 (Paris, 1877), p. 694, note 119, s. v. *Bestiae mansuetae*.

An ape squats to the right on a small boat whose prow ends in the head of an ass. The animal with both forepaws raised shakes four sticks which it is holding in its forepaws and which are thicker at the ends than in the middle. These sticks may have been used by the animal to make a clicking noise. On its head is a high crown decorated by formalized palmettes. The statement in Daremberg and Saglio that this is the *tutulus* headdress is uncertain because of the uncertainty of the exact nature of the *tutulus*. Passeri's suggestion that the ape is on a bed, shaped like a boat is quite possible, since bed-frames ending in the head of an ass are common. The scene may well reflect some kind of a theatrical performance by an ape. The pour hole of the lamp is in the center of the design and cuts off the left leg of the ape.

553. Tunis. Alaoui Museum. From Hadrumetum (Sousse). Du Coudray la Blanchère and P. Gauckler, *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui* (Paris, 1897), p. 178, no. 306.

On a Roman lamp is a scene which is described in the Catalogue as an ape in a *cisium* (a light two-wheeled cart) drawn by an ass. M. Poinssot, director of antiquities in Tunis, writes that the lamp is no longer exhibited at the Museum (7/18/36), that the description may not be correct, and that the scene may be the same as that of the following lamp.

554. Plate IX, 1. Tunis. Alaoui Museum. From El-Djem (Thysdrus): the gift of N. Dybowski (1900). L. Hauteceur in *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui*, 1st supplement (Paris, 1910), p. 189, no. 810.

In the catalogue this lamp is described doubtfully as Hippolytus falling from his chariot, a description which is clearly erroneous. The scene is not absolutely clear but seems to represent a *biga* being driven by a dog-headed baboon. The ape has its mouth wide open, its head and shoulders thrust forward and its elbows resting on the front of the chariot.

The reins are held in its forepaws, its hind legs are bent, and its long, thick tail hangs down behind. This is surely a parody of a scene from the circus.

555. Nijmegen. Collection of P. Guyot. Janssen, *Bonn. Jb.*, VII (1845), p. 64. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 7, note 85.

A clay lamp on which is the following relief scene. An ape, which sits upon its hindpaws, with its forepaws plucks a bunch of grapes and eats them.

556. Gözli Kule, Tarsus (Inv. 959-L221). Hetty Goldman, *A. J. A.*, XXXIX (1935), pp. 531, 533-534, fig. 14A.

On the fragmentary disk of a clay lamp a monkey stands on a branch of a grape vine, and eats from a large bunch of grapes. It faces to the right and grasps the grapes with both forepaws. The vine curves around in a half-circle, a smaller bunch hangs below. The animal is quite small, in comparison with the vine and the grapes. Its body is unnaturally heavy through the shoulders and loins, its head is marked by a heavy "hood," its snout is pointed and its tail curls up in a reversed S. Roman work—first century B. C. or A. D.

557. New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Cesnola Collection (2617). From Cyprus. Cf. Hetty Goldman, *loc. cit.*

A complete lamp as above.

558. Xanten. Houben's Antiquarium. Fr. Fiedler, *Denkmaeler von Castra Vetera und Colonia Traiana in Ph. Houben's Antiquarium* (Xanten, 1839), p. 52, pl. VII, 2. Cf. H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, II, p. 419, note 7. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, p. 267.

A similar, unbroken lamp. The tip of the monkey's tail is tufted, the animal's paws, and the details of the vine are more carefully marked, the hole for filling the lamp is in the center of the disk.

559. From Nîmes. Le Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités*, II (Paris, 1756), p. 348, pl. C, VI. Cf. Stephani, *loc. cit.*

A monkey squats to the right beside a vine and reaches out for a bunch of grapes with its right forepaw, and puts a grape to its mouth with the left forepaw. The details of the



monkey and the vine are quite realistic. The monkey's snout is dog-like, its tail goes up behind and the top of its head has bushy hair.

560. Cologne. The collection of E. Herstatt. Duetschke, *Bonn. Jb.*, LXI (1877), p. 106, no. 55. Cf. Stephani, *loc. cit.*

As above.

561. Plate X. Paris. Louvre: Galerie Campana, Salle H (no. 4922, placed in the Louvre in 1863), in the glass case in the recess of the central window. Cf. V. Duruy, *Histoire de Rome*, VI (Paris, 1883), p. 386 (figure). H. Dressel, *C. I. L.*, XV, 2 (Berlin, 1899), no. 6610, 7 (p).

A Roman clay lamp with plain spout and handle. Within a raised rim is the scene of an eagle carrying an ape to heaven. That the ape is a parody of Ganymede is emphasized by the fact that it wears a Phrygian cap and a cloak. Its arms are spread out, its forepaws are long with widespread digits, its legs are clumsily modelled. The face is not absolutely clear, but the animal's snout is long and blunt and it looks to the right. To the left is a shepherd's staff, which is falling from the grasp of the main figure. The pour hole is beside the ape's right forepaw. Length, including handle and spout, 15.1 cm.; width, 10.3 cm.

562. New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Cesnola Collection (2612). From Cyprus. J. L. Myres, *A Handbook of the Cesnola Collection* (New York, 1914), p. 367.

A long-tailed little animal confronts a bear. Myres suggests that the small animal is a squirrel (or ape?), and that the scene represents a fable. The small animal is probably an ape and the juxtaposition of two animals so often tamed suggests part of a travelling menagerie.

563. Passeri Museum (in 1751). Passeri, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 114-115, pl. LXXXI.

A clay lamp of unusual shape and design. It is rectangular with rounded corners, two spouts and two pour-holes for oil. The design shows the jackall-headed Anubis, with a crescent on his head, standing at the left and facing right; at the right facing left is ibis-headed Thoth with a disk on his head;

in the middle facing Anubis squats a cynocephalus with a disk on its head. The animal's paws are on its knees, the "hooded" head is particularly noticeable. The heads of Anubis and Thoth are inaccurate. It is quite probable that such a lamp was made for Egyptians by Roman potters who were not familiar with the figures of the Egyptian gods.

564. Leningrad. The Hermitage (1896, no. 45, 95). From the Chersonese. Oskar Waldhauer, *Die antiken Tonlampen, kaiserliche Ermitage* (St. Petersburg, 1914), p. 63, no. 489, pl. XLVI.

Two apes sit on square objects, facing each other. On their knees they hold a dish or a gaming board on which each places its right forepaw. The animals are quite natural, the hair is marked, the division of the digits of the paws is clearly marked. The lamp was found in a ruined catacomb, together with coins of Pharsanzes and Theodosius the Great. The rim is broken, the pour hole is between the apes' heads. Diam. ca. 8 cm.

### 3. Bronze reliefs (565-568).

565. London. British Museum. Pulskey Collection (acquired 1868). H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes: Greek, Roman, and Etruscan: Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities: British Museum* (London, 1899), p. 56, no. 366.

An embossed bronze plate with incised designs on a crinkled surface. On the left are a sphinx, a lion and a bull, next is a palmette and lotus pattern, next an ape walking to the left and looking back. 67.6 cm. by 11.8 cm. Early Italian work (eighth century).

566. Cairo. Museum (27735). C. C. Edgar, *Greek Bronzes, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1904), p. 25, no. 27735, pl. VI.

An eagle stands with wings outspread, looking to the right. On the back is a cynocephalus wearing drapery and a disk. The ape is in high relief, the rest of the back is plain. Ht., 4.8 cm.; width, 5.2 cm.

567. Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Museum (21084). The Ihering Collection (1874). From Mainz. S. Reinach, *Antiquités nationales, Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine* (Paris, 1894), p. 326, no. 414 (figure). *Bonn. Jb.*, CXVIII (1909), p. 222, note 2.

A vase-handle consists of a leaf-shaped piece of bronze decorated with a high relief, and a ring attached solidly to it. The relief shows Orpheus wearing a Phrygian cap seated amidst a few birds and animals. Orpheus looks to the front, holds a *plectrum* in his right hand, and rests his left hand on a lyre. In the upper right is an ape squatting in a tree. The work is extremely crude—Gallo-Roman.

568. London. British Museum. From Oxyrhynchus (Excav. of 1904-05). B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Egypt Exploration Fund, Archaeological Report, 1904-05*, p. 16.

On a bronze knife handle an ape is represented as a quail-catcher, holding a quail-box on its shoulder and a lantern in its right forepaw. Romano-Egyptian work, 2nd cent. A. D.

#### 4. Gold and silver reliefs (569-577).

- 569-572. London. The British Museum. From Aegina (?). A. J. Evans, "A Mykenean Treasure from Aegina," *J. H. S.*, XIII (1892-93), pp. 203-204, fig. 6. G. Perrot and Ch. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, VII, p. 240, fig. 107. Petersen, *Roem. Mitt.*, XII (1897), p. 16, note 1. Chr. Tsountas and J. I. Manatt, *The Mycenean Age* (New York, 1897), pp. 390-391, fig. 156. Jolles, *Jb. Arch. I.*, XIX (1904), p. 36. F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of Jewellery, Greek, Roman and Etruscan in the British Museum* (London, 1911), pp. 55-56, nos. 763-766, pl. VI, no. 763 (with a bibliography). H. B. Walters, *The Art of the Greeks* (2nd ed., London, 1922), pl. CII. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 368.

A hoard of gold jewelry was acquired by the British Museum in 1892. In all probability it is from Aegina, but the exact provenience is uncertain. Four of the objects are gold pendants, which are almost identical. A penannular ring ending in snakes' heads is decorated with fourteen pendants, alternately flat disks and owls (?), fastened to the ring by short chains. Within the ring two confronting mastiffs, chained to the sides, place their raised, right forepaws on a long, red, carnelian bead. The left forepaws of the

dogs rest on the heads of two cynocephali, which squat back to back and hold their forepaws to their snouts.

The date of this treasure is a question for dispute, especially because of the scantiness of our information about the circumstances of its discovery. Evans dated it as sub-Mycenean (*ca.* 800 B. C.): *loc. cit.*, pp. 218-226. Beloch follows this and puts it in the ninth or eighth centuries: K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, I, 2 (2nd ed., Strassburg, 1913), p. 127. Stais (*Arch. Eph.*, 1895, p. 252), Keramopoulos (*Arch. Eph.*, 1910, p. 177) and Marshall (*op. cit.*, p. 51) date the treasure between 1200 and 1000. Hall thought that it might be as late as the tenth century, since the Mycenean tradition continued in metal work: H. R. Hall, *Aegean Archaeology* (London, 1915), pp. 59-60. Harland, after an examination of the supposed site, dated it *ca.* 1100: J. P. Harland, *Prehistoric Aegina* (Paris, 1925), pp. 24-25.

573. Florence. Archaeological Museum. From the Circolo della Perazzetta at Marsiliana d'Albegna. D. Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 188, 192, pl. 35, 3. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, p. 365, pl. XIV, 3.

A comb-shaped buckle of silver, plated with gold has an oblong central design surrounded by a rope band pattern. The prongs on both sides (most of which are lost) are made so that a cloth belt could be fastened to it; these prongs are rivetted on the center band. This center band is decorated with repoussé work. To the left is a set of concentric circles; next there are three identical crouching apes facing right, another set of circles, three more crouching apes facing left and another set of circles; granulated patterns relieve the simplicity of the design. The apes are all alike, elbows on knees, paws to snout; the head is rounded, but the snout is blunt; they have no tails. Etruscan work. The central band is *ca.* 0.8 by 1.2 cm.; width including the prongs *ca.* 4.8 cm.

574. Berlin. Antiquarium. From Etruria. Adolf Furtwaengler, *Arch. Zeit*, XLII (1884), p. 112, pl. 10, 2 = *Kleine Schriften* (Munich, 1912), I, p. 467, pl. 17. P. Ducati, *L'arte classica* (Turin, 1920), pp. 131-132, fig. 122. Bonacelli, *Scimmia*, pp. 366-367.

This gold relief is in the form of a square (25 by 25 cm.) cut in at one corner. The larger part forms a right angle around which run parallel bands, divided by a rope design. One of these bands is decorated by the figure of an ape, repeated seventy-four times. This figure is highly stylized, and shows the animal, squatting with knees drawn up and paws to snout. In the cut-in corner is a heart-shaped field topped by a double cross, in the center of which four more ape figures appear. The other ornamental relief figures are the duck, the circle, the human head, the swastika, and geometric figures. Etruscan work. This piece of relief was probably the center of a rich and elaborate breast-plate.

- 575-576. From Vetulonia. Helbig, "Scavi di Vetulonia," *Roem. Mitt.*, I (1886), p. 134.

Two thin silver strips are ornamented with stamped figures of winged crouching lions and crouching apes, alternating with each other. These figures form a band in the direction of the length of the metal strip. The apes are not cynocephali, the stylized figures resembling the figures on the gold piece in Berlin. Etruscan work. Length 20 and 19 cm., width 2.5 cm. (narrowing a little towards the end).

577. Leningrad. The Hermitage. From Melgunov's Barrow (1763). E. H. Minns, *The Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 173. M. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, VIII (Berlin, 1927), p. 134, pl. 39, 3.

A golden strip is decorated with low relief, on which are the figures of a monkey, two stork-like birds and a goose. The monkey, at the extreme left facing right, squats with its knees drawn up under its armpits, and holds a piece of food to its snout. Its tail curls up behind; the eyes, snout and forepaw are marked, and small indentations indicate the hair of the body. Greek work.

5. *Gems (578-597).*

578. New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Cesnola Collection. From Cyprus. Fr. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller, *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Muenzen und Gemmen* (Leipzig, 1889), p. 83, 3 b; pl. XIV, 58.

On this gem a horse and chariot move to the left. An ape sits in front view on the chariot, its knees are spread out, and it holds the reins in its right forepaw. The "Key of the Nile" beside the horse's head marks the Egyptian origin of the gem. Glazed porcelain.

579. Tunis. Alaoui Museum. From the Punic necropolis of Dermech at Carthage. L. Dappier in *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui*, 1st supplement (Paris, 1910), p. 114, no. 24.

A ring has four cynocephali engraved on its bezel.

580. Tunis. Alaoui Museum. From the Punic necropolis of Sidi-Yahia, excavations of M. Icard (1918). A. Merlin and R. Lautier, *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui*, 2nd supplement (Paris, 1922), p. 340, no. 38.

An intaglio shows a walking cynocephalus.

581. London. British Museum. From the sixth grave at Tharrus on Sardinia (1856). H. B. Walters, *The Art of the Greeks* (1st ed., London, 1906), pl. LXXXIX, 1. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems and Cameos in the British Museum* (London, 1926), p. 47, no. 387, pl. VII.

A green jasper intaglio engraved with the following design: the so-called sacred tree of Phoenicia is in the center, on each side squats a cynocephalus, above a star and crescent. The ape here probably represents the god Esmun (Walters). Greco-Carthaginian. 1.7 cm. by 1.3 cm.

582. London. British Museum. From the seventh grave at Tharrus in Sardinia (1856). Walters, *Catalogue*, p. 47, no. 388, pl. VII.

The boat of the sun with a disk at each end, in the center is a disk with triple crown and uraeus, and on each side an ape wearing a disk. Imitation of an Egyptian design. Green jasper. 1.3 by 1.2 cm.

583. London. The British Museum. From the eighth grave at Tharrus in Sardinia (1856). Walters, *Art of the Greeks*, pl. LXXXIX, 20. Imhoof-Blumer and Keller, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI, 40. Walters, *Catalogue*, p. 46, no. 378, pl. VII.

A sphinx crouches to the left and wears the double Eryp-

tian crown. On the rump of the sphinx crouches an ape. The gem is broken above. Green jasper. 1.4 by 1 cm.

- 584.** London. British Museum. From the seventh grave at Tharrus on Sardinia (1856). Walters, *Catalogue*, p. 44, no. 364.

Figures of Sekhmet with the solar disk; the cynocephalus with the lunar disk representing Thoth; and the hawk of Horus with the double crown. 1.3 by 1.1 cm. A broken scarab of green jasper.

- 585.** London. British Museum. From Tyre (1886). Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 39, no. 318.

An ape-headed figure with a tail contending with a rampant lion. Orientalizing. Green jasper. 1.5 by 1.2 cm.

- 586.** Leningrad. Hermitage. A. Furtwaengler, *Die antiken Gemmen* (Berlin, 1896), I, pl. VII, 42; II, p. 35.

A green jasper scarab has the following scene: within a rope design, a sow with a young pig walks to the left. On the shoulders of the sow, an ape squats facing right, and faces a bird, which it teases with a small stick held in its right forepaw. Archaic Greek work with oriental influence.

- 587.** London. British Museum. Formerly in the Hertz Collection (1889). Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 41, no. 337, pl. VI.

A cynocephalus walks to the left on all fours. Green jasper—degraded scarab form. 1.1 by 1.2 cm.

- 588.** Paris. Louvre (2162). Imhoof-Blumer and Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 108, pl. XVII, 17. Keller, *Thiere*, p. 35.

On an engraved carnelian a two-humped camel is led by a dog or a jackall. A short-tailed ape (?) rides on the camel, and holds a stick in its left forepaw. Greco-Egyptian.

- 589.** Berlin. Antiquarium. Formerly in the possession of Baron Stosch. Imhoof-Blumer and Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 83, pl. XIV, 3.

On an engraved opal are the head and shoulders of a cynocephalus in front view. Greco-Egyptian.

- 590.** London. Collection of Robert Ready. Imhoof-Blumer and Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 83, pl. XIV, 1.

On an engraved gem of green jasper, a cynocephalus with

a sun disk on its head squats on a crocodile. There are five Greek letters (mystic symbols) on the gem. Greco-Egyptian.

591. Copenhagen. Thorvaldsen Museum. Poul Fossing, *Catalogue of Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos, The Thorvaldsen Museum* (Copenhagen, 1929), p. 198, no. 1415 (672), pl. XVI.

On an intaglio carnelian an ithyphallic ape stands to the left in the adorant attitude. Greco-Egyptian, first century B. C., cf. Fossing, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-26. 1.2 by 0.9 cm.

592. Cologne. Collection of Peter Leven. *Bonn. Jb.*, XIV (1849), p. 26, no. 107.

A yellowish chalcedon cameo is decorated with the mask of an ape.

593. Berlin. Antiquarium. Formerly in the possession of Baron Stosch. Imhoof-Blumer and Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 83, pl. XIV, 2,

On an emerald plasma a seated cynocephalus with a sun disk on its head holds its enormous phallus in both forepaws. A gnostic gem of late date, Greco-Egyptian.

594. London. The British Museum. Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 238, no. 2343, pl. XXVII.

On a convex plasma an ithyphallic monkey is seated on a rock. Its faces to the right and holds a strigil (?) in its left forepaw and a stick in its right forepaw. Its tail hangs down behind the rock. Its snout is pointed. 1.2 by .9 cm.

595. Collection of the Earl of Southesk. Lady Helena Carnegie, *Catalogue of the Southesk Collection of Antique Gems* (London, 1918), I, pp. 187-188, no. N 72.

A standing cynocephalus. On the reverse is an unintelligible Greek inscription. An oval gem of green jasper, 1.3 by 1.8 cm. A late gnostic gem. Greco-Egyptian.

596. Leningrad. The Hermitage (A B 1, 13). Formerly in the Collection of Count Einsiedel at Dresden. Le Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités*, IV (Paris, 1761), pp. 137-139, pl. XLVIII, I. Cf. L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1881, pp. 97-99 (with a bibliography), pl. V, no. 13; p. 102, no. 7.

On a sardonyx Orpheus is represented, surrounded by a large group of animals. Dressed in a Greek cloak, and bare-



headed, he sits on a rock, playing a lyre and facing to the left. In front of Orpheus, and facing him are two animals. In Caylus' illustration they may be identified as some kind of ape (not dog-headed baboons as Caylus suggests in the text). This identification fits in with the common placement of the ape in the representations of Orpheus, in front of the musician and facing him. Stephani shows that Caylus' illustration is not accurate, and that the animal figures are too poorly preserved to be definitely recognized, but thinks they are probably apes due to the placement mentioned above.

597. Leningrad. The Hermitage. Formerly in the Casanova Collection. Le Comte de Caylus, *op. cit.*, III (Paris, 1759), pp. 50-52, pl. XIII, I. Cf. L. Stephani, *loc. cit.*, pp. 102-103, no. 9.

On a gem of rather crudely worked glass paste, Orpheus, dressed in a long cloak and wearing a Phrygian cap is represented, surrounded by six animals and a bird. The musician is seated, facing to the left and playing a lyre, beneath a tree around which a snake is entwined (the illustration in Caylus omits the snake). Behind him are a bird, a roebuck and a lion (?), beneath, an elephant, in front, a wolf, a goat, a lion and a monkey. Stephani's suggestions of a hare (for the wolf) and a stag (?) (for the goat) are caused by the lack of any identification of the comparative sizes of these animals, the monkey is the largest of the animals, and only the bird is smaller than the elephant. The monkey squats with its right elbow on its knee and holds out its right forepaw to the musician.

#### 6. Coins (598-600).

598. Berlin. Kaiserlich Muenzkabinett, Antiquarium (2, no. 869). T. E. Mionnet, *Description de médailles antiques, grecques et romaines*, VI (Paris, 1813), p. 234, no. 1586. L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1881, p. 104, no. 26. Imhoof-Blumer and Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 3. B. Pick, *Jb. Arch.*, I., XIII (1898), pp. 135-137, pls. X, 2. Gruppe in Roscher, *Lexikon*, III, 1 (Leipzig, 1897-1900), cols. 1201-1202, s. v. *Orpheus* (with a bibliography). W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London, 1935), p. 21, fig. 2 (b).

On the obverse of a coin of Alexandria is a bust of Anto-

ninus Pius (138-161 A.D.). On the reverse Orpheus is seated facing to the right playing the lyre, surrounded by nine animals, among which are included an ape (facing Orpheus) and an ibis. The ape appears to be a Barbary ape, but might possibly be a cynocephalus, which would be introduced because of its Egyptian connections.

599. Paris. From Alexandria in Egypt. Mionett, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 298, no. 2045. L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1881, p. 104, no. 27. Imhoof-Blumer and Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 3, pl. I, 1. Roscher, *loc. cit.*

A bronze coin of Alexandria (diam. 3.4 cm.). On the obverse side a laurelled and bearded head of M. Aurelius to the right, and an inscription with his name. On the reverse side to the left a delta (i.e. the fourth year of his reign, 164 A.D.), and Orpheus seated at the left (facing right) on a rock, playing the lyre, and surrounded by many animals—an ichneumon, an ibis, a cynocephalus, a ram, a goat, a lion, a pig, a bull, a horse, an antelope and a raven. The ape is to the right, squatting and facing Orpheus with its paws on its knees.

600. L. Stephani, *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*, 1877, p. 268, note 4.

As above—a coin of Caracalla.

## 7. *Seals and seal impressions (601-605).*

601. Candia. Museum (1103). From hut delta at Platanos. Sir Arthur Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I (London, 1921), p. 120, fig. 88 a. S. Xanthoudides, *Vaulted Tombs of Mesará* (tr. by Droop, London, 1924), p. 112, no. 1103, pl. XIII. Fr. Matz, *Die fruehkretischen Siegel* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928), pp. 8-9, no. 52, p. 116; pls. I, 7; VII, 2.

An ivory cylinder which has a seal at each end. The larger end has a wreath around the edge, six animals in a concentric circle and a seventh in the center. These are probably squatting apes (Matz, apes; Xanth., lions; Evans, baboons). If they are apes, they are squatting with their forepaws up in the air in an adorant attitude.

602. From Tomb II at Mochlos. R. B. Seager, *Explorations in the Island of Mochlos* (Boston and New York, 1912), pp. 33-34, fig. 11, no. II, 42. Evans, *op. cit.*, I, p. 83, fig. 51. Matz, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17, no. 173, p. 116, pl. XIII, 2. O. Montelius, *La Grèce préclassique* (Stockholm, 1924), p. 27, figs. 111-112.

A pear-shaped ivory seal (pierced at the top) is ornamented on the seal by two cynocephali squatting back to back, one has a short tail, the other a long tail. Both raise their paws in the adorant attitude. Height, 1.8 cm., diam. of seal, 1.2 cm. Middle Minoan II (Evans), Montelius calls it Early Minoan.

603. From Phaestus. Savignoni, *Mon. Ant.*, XIV (1904), col. 586, fig. 51, pl. XL, 7. Matz, *loc. cit.*

A gold seal ring with incised decoration. From right to left: a pillar with a double top; a dancing woman; a cynocephalus with curling tail, squatting, with uplifted forepaws, facing the pillar; a second human figure. The seal is oval; length, 1.6 cm., width, 1 cm.

604. From Hagia Triada. Halbherr, *Mon. Ant.*, XIII (1903), col. 39, no. 27, fig. 32, pl. VI. Matz, *op. cit.*, p. 116, note 5.

A round clay seal impression shows an animal squatting to the right. Its tail curls up, its legs are drawn up, its forepaws are upraised, and its head is indistinct. Halbherr calls it a monster or an animal, but it is probably an ape. Diameter *ca.* 1.2 cm.

605. From Zakro (House A). Hogarth, *B. S. A.*, VII (1900-01), p. 133. Hogarth, *J. H. S.*, XXII (1902), p. 77, fig. 4, pl. VI, 5. Matz, *loc. cit.*

A clay impression of a seal. A cynocephalus squats to the left facing a woman in a flounced skirt, who has her left arm raised. The animal's tail curls up and its forepaws are raised. Hogarth calls it "a demon with bestial head and human limbs," but it is an ape, a cynocephalus in the adorant attitude typical of Egyptian art. Mycenaean period. Diam. 1.1 cm.

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*Note:* when a periodical is cited by means of an abbreviation, the citations follow the lists given in *The American Journal of Archaeology*, XXIV (1920), pp. 118-119; XXIX (1925), pp. 115-116; XL (1936), p. 183. Otherwise periodicals have been cited with enough detail to be easily recognizable. One Russian periodical—*Otchet I. Arkheologicheskaja Kommissiia*—has been cited by its French name, *Comptes Rendus de la commission impériale archéologique* (abbreviated *C. R. de la comm. imp. arch.*). These references are all to German articles by L. Stephani:—for particulars about this publication cf. E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1913), p. XXV.

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- Zahn, Robert, vi, 24 f., 52, **166**, **315**, **324**, **329**, **499**.
- Zaveces, 56 f.
- Zeus, 114, 142, 149, **274**.
- Φλύακες, **325**.
- Χοιροπίθηκος, 93, 108, **485**.



PLATE I—1-3. Figurines. The National Museum. Athens. 4. 5. 6.

Fig. 132



Fig. 133

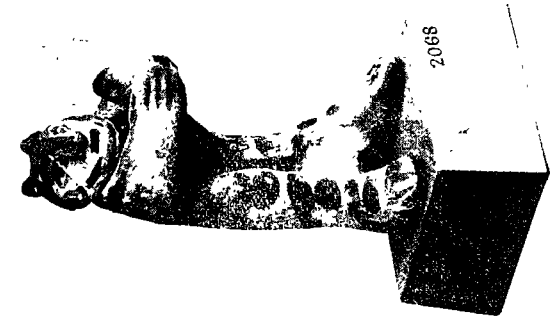
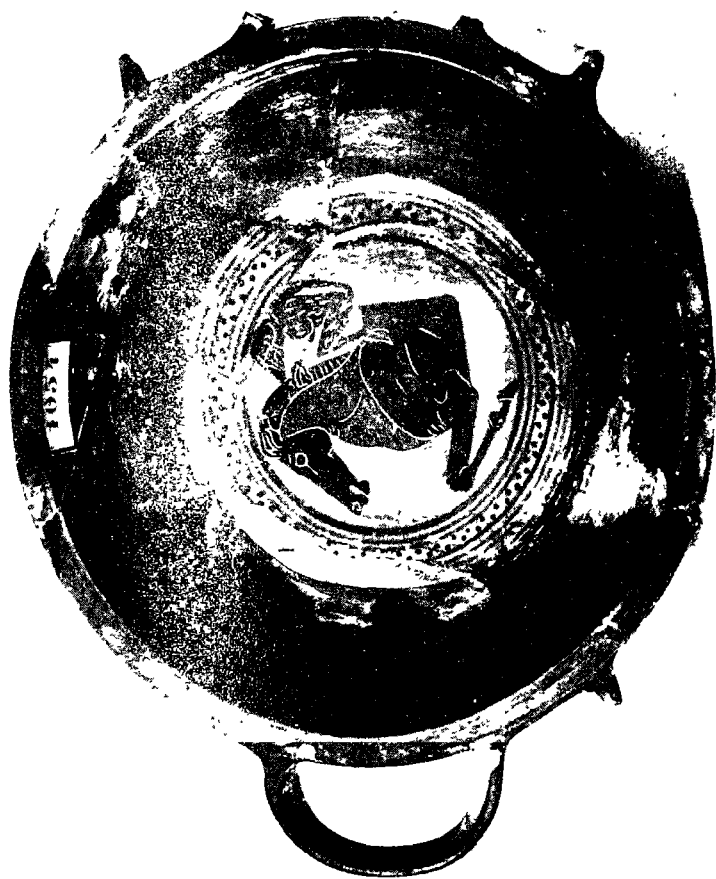


PLATE II—1-3. Figurines. The Cesnola Collection. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.  
New York. 27. 132. 133.



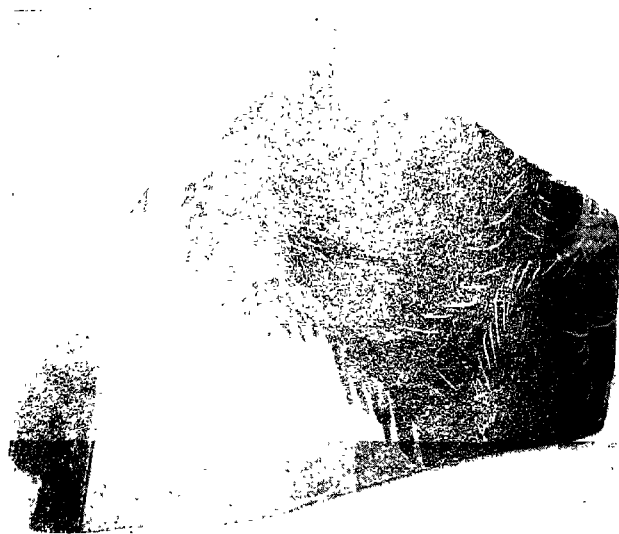
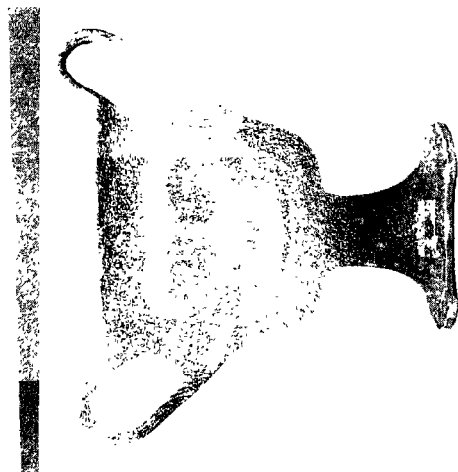


PLATE IV—1. Fragment of a bowl from the  
Cabirium. Heidelberg. 324.



THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM  
OF ART

2 Cylix. The Cesnola Collection. The Metropolitan  
Museum of Art. New York. 335.

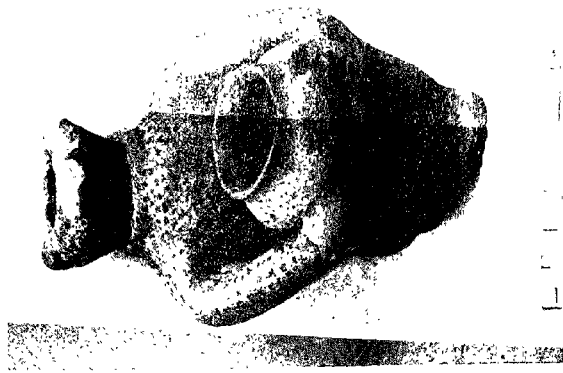


PLATE V-1. Vase. The Metropolitan Museum  
of Art. New York. 440.



2. Terracotta Relief. Antiquarium. Berlin. 499.

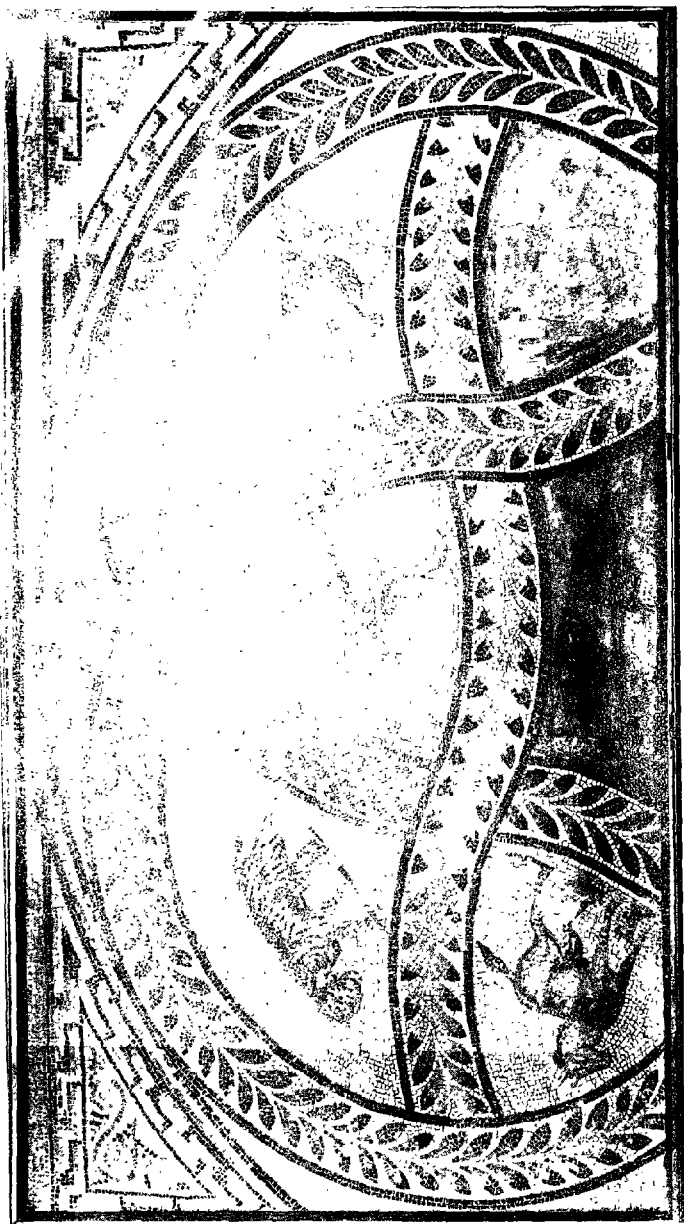


PLATE VI.—Mosaic from Hadrumetum. Louvre. Paris. 489.



PLATE VII—Detail of Plate VI 483.





· PLATE VIII—Relief in Sabratha. 512.

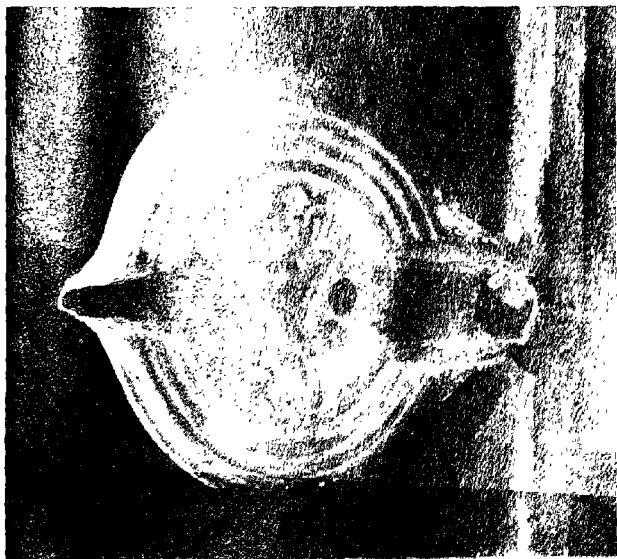


Fig. 3. Lamp. 554.



Fig. 2. Lamp. 543.



PLATE X—Lamp. Louvre. Paris. 561.

